

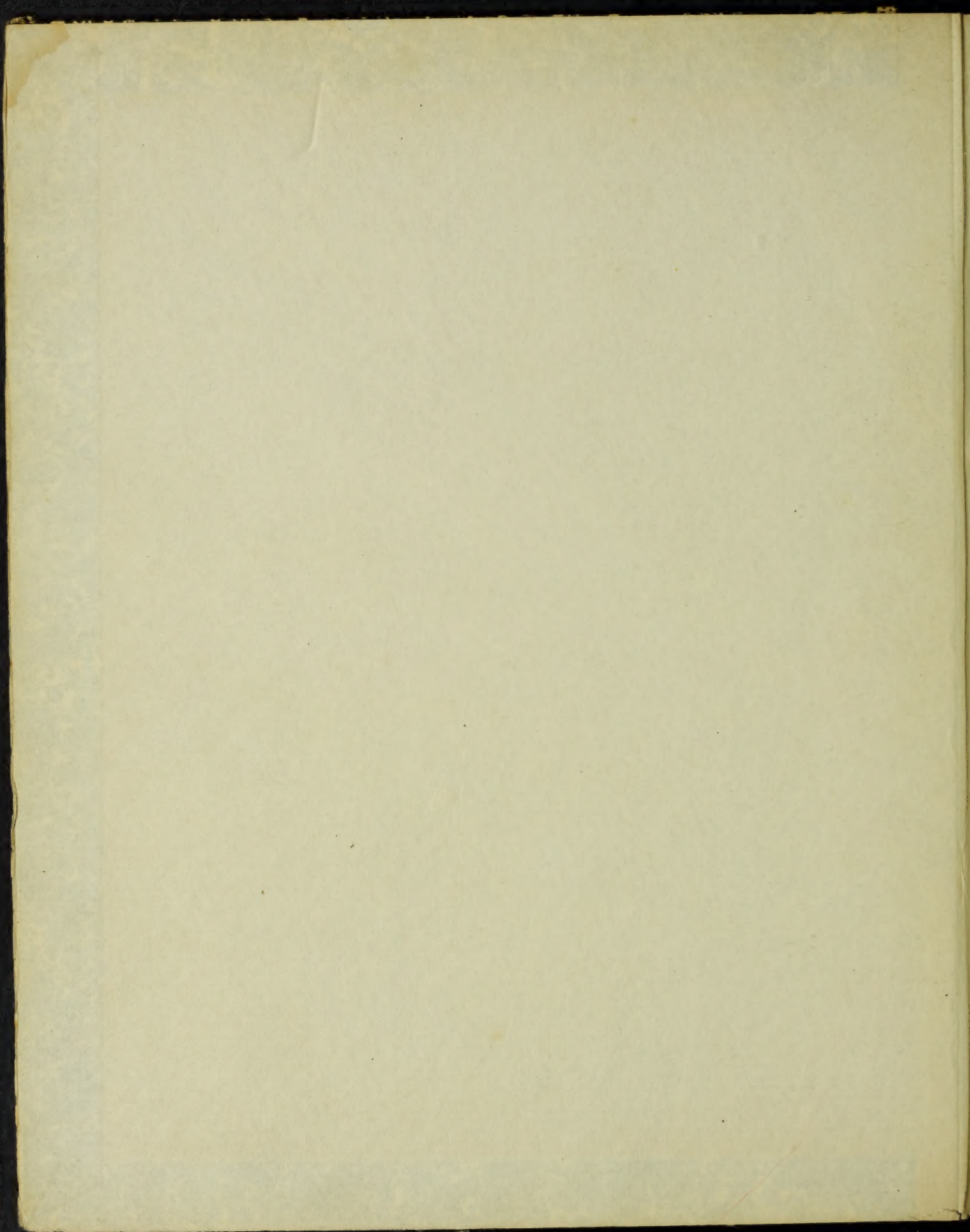
Name Richard B. Gregg

Subject Note Book XXX

Instructor

Date Summer of 1937

J. L. Hammett Co., Cambridge and Newark



Further frustration from 1874-1875
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p. 142. The system of the image image
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21 JIM B. E. W. O. D. M. A.

Further quotations from B N Liddell
Harts' "Europe in Arms", continued
from previous note books.

p 147. "The object of the soldier's train-
ing is threefold. To make him skilled
in handling his weapons under battle
conditions. To make him an interlocking
and frictionless cog in the military
machine, which implies the development
of automatic obedience, of instinctive
coordination according to some
practised system of action, and of
physical stamina. Thirdly, and
above all, to make him conquer his
own sense of fear.

148 "Military exercises and military discipline
have been the two main agencies used
to produce the trained soldier. But

Q they have had a purely moral accom-
paniment in the cultivation of a
distinctive military spirit - springing
from comradeship and bound up by
the strands of esprit de corps.

"The form of military exercises has
naturally varied with the changing
nature of weapons and the conse-
quent changes in the fighting for-
mation of military bodies. These
exercises may be classified as in-
dividual and collective. In their
application to the training of the
soldier both classes have in the
past been predominantly and
still are to a large extent, based
upon drill - that is, the repetition
of certain movements until their
performance becomes instinctive. If

such drill has the primary purpose of developing working efficiency, it has also been of use, especially in the past, as a supplement to discipline and the military spirit. By a discipline of the muscles the reflexes of obedience were developed so that the soldier could continue to act effectively even when his mind was numbed by fear.

"Military discipline, in the strict sense of the term, is the enforcement of instant obedience to orders through the threat of punishment, supplemented by the control of the reflexes established through drill. In the wider sense it is bound up with the soldierly spirit. So far as this is susceptible

to analyze, its components appear to be the pride of manhood, the pride of arms (of being an initiate in the martial cult), the confidence that comes from skill at arms, the sense of comradeship, the sense of duty, and the sense of loyalty - to comrades, commanders, corps and country.

"The proportions of these components have certainly varied. Thus in the citizen-military armies of the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic, patriotism would seem to have been the dominant element - at any rate in the willing soldier's spirit. The same has been true of the armies of the French Revolution and of the 'national'

armies subsequently. In the army of ancient Sparta, the influence of its martial cult would seem to have risen to at least equal proportions with patriotism. [Roman legions from times of Marius, personal loyalty to commanders. There is ^{predominant} middle age. Loyalty to corps or regiment when standing armies became general, 17th century and.]

149 --- "Yet in all professional armies the martial cult and esprit de corps have remained as powerful influences on the soldier's spirit.

"No student of war is likely to underestimate the strength of the military spirit as a cement to armies, especially those whose ranks are filled with men of some intelligence. Yet, equally, no scientific historian

will fail to perceive how much of their fighting power and fortitude, especially in the past, was due to a severely punitive discipline, which inspired a fear that overcame fear of the enemy.

150

"Spartan discipline is proverbial, yet it had a larger moral element in its application than that of most armies until recent times. Those who ran away were punished by shame - they could hold no office, could receive no wife, were exposed to ~~blows~~ ~~or~~ ~~mult~~ or blows without right of reply, were compelled to wear patched and parti-coloured dress, and were only allowed to shave one side of their faces.

" Roman discipline, in comparison, was far more physical in its deterrents, the death penalty being frequently inflicted. [Describes decimation, running the gauntlet, flogging, mutilation. F indicates the great and appalling severe penalties for the least infractions. Flogging not abolished in the Army till 1881.] ---

156.

~~"It was as much due to the~~

~~growing effect of firearms~~

"We should recognize that the men in the ranks were largely composed of the scum of the slums, so that some excuse may be found in their vicious tendencies for the drastic measures taken to secure good behaviour. [Fallacious. Cf. Henry Harris "I Knew them in Prison"]

~~it will be as~~ R.H.G.

We must recognize that so long as men fought in close formation - from the Spartan phalanx of years down to the serrated lines of Frederic's grenadiers - wherein each man must move in dove-tailed uniformity with his neighbors to ensure cohesion, there was a military value in a discipline and drill that turned men into machines.

"It was as much due to the growing effect of firearms, which compelled looser formations, as to a growing humanity that in the nineteenth century the methods of discipline became gradually less severe. Even so, old habits die hard and even in

the armies of the early twentieth century discipline remained predominantly punitive as a means of subduing the independent will of the soldier and as a means, perhaps overrated, of enabling him to face danger through the conscious or subconscious fear of the more certain penalties that awaited him if he failed. Even today there are military students who maintain that instinctive courage is so weak and self-respect so ~~unsafe~~ unsafe a support that it is wiser to impose courage through the impress of a military discipline.

"Yet a different way was introduced, and vindicated, more than

a century ago in what is known as Sir John Moore's system of training. Its origin was partly tactical, partly humane. The more intelligent British officers who fought in America were impressed by the impracticality of pitting stiff-ranked formations against the forest craft of the Red Indians, and the need of combatting them with a new type of resourceful light infantry.

On Christmas Day, 1775, took place the birth of a corps, the 60th Royal Americans (now the King's Royal Rifle Corps), which became a light to the whole military world.

It developed not only a new style of ^{infantry} ~~infantry~~ tactics, but under Colonel

Beaumont, a new form of discipline, in which the self-respect and self-confidence of the men was fostered by an atmosphere of trust, and timidity replaced by sympathy. In preference to imposed discipline there was a cultivation of all the elements of the soldierly spirit to the end that men should acquire self-control. The experience of the American Revolution and the hard lessons taught by the colonists acted as a spur to this new tendency, and eventually led, first, to the formation of the Experimental Rifle Corps in 1800, and then to the training of the Light Brigade at Shorncliffe under Sir John Moore. It gave a new spiritual meaning to discipline

and added a moral to a merely
physical cohesion with results
that were proved in the Penin-
sular War, where the Slight Divi-
sion was the salt of the Army.

✓ [Cf. Henry B. Harris 'I knew them in
Prison' as vindication of this
method even for the ^{poor} lowest]

"Its triumphs were the more
remarkable because the salt was
damped, the light dimmed, by
many conservative soldiers who
lacked the insight and the
courage to place their trust in
the new system. This adulter-
ation continued in the generations
that followed, although par-
tially offset by the rising level
of humanity in the people at

large. At the present day, one can say that the methods of discipline, if not its spirit, are virtually equivalent to those of Sir John Moore's system. But they should have made a century's progress. By comparison with the immense change in the customs of civil life, we can see that there is far too much stress on physical deterrents even in the most enlightened codes of military discipline. And too little emphasis on intelligence. Today the revolutionary changes in warfare point the urgent need of a fresh change in discipline. The increasingly mechanical nature of weapons demands the

8

intellectual development of the men who handle them - at any rate of those who act individually or in little groups. When battle was waged essentially between physical bodies there was a value in turning men into machines. Now that battle is being waged more & more between machines the object of military training should be to produce men who will be masters of the machine - by developing their mental powers.

[Hart overlooks the other elements & stimuli to courage present in the army, aside from deterrents to fear. Yet gives, whether in addition

to positive stimuli described in my pamphlet, there might not also be moral deterrents, e.g. the attitudes of women toward men who fail in N.V.R. Army] ---

"If executive intelligence is becoming more and more needed in the soldier, creative intelligence is and always has been the supreme requirement in the commander - coupled with moral courage.

--- The best hope of tilting the scales and of overcoming the resistance inherent in conflict lies in originality - to produce something unexpected that will paralyze the opponent's freedom of action.

their lives than their livelihood:
and to sacrifice their own importance
often comes hardest of all. " --

282

The evolution of war at sea, as on
land, has been towards multiplicity
of means and complexity of methods.
Simplification is not yet in
sight. Moreover, the complexity
is augmented by the increasing
dependence of the fighting forces
upon industrial forces. As a
consequence, all the countries
are developing schemes of economic
mobilization, as a necessary
foundation for their military,
naval and aerial mobilization.
But this economic mobilization
introduces numberless new factors
that complicate strategic plans,

while it is liable to dislocation by the new types of military pressure that are simultaneously evolving - especially that of air attack.

283. Are the problems of future warfare becoming too complex for solution, at any rate by strategists who have been professionally trained to prefer simple solutions and traditionally nurtured in a preference for familiar means?

"Reflection on these conditions suggests that there is only one safe prophecy about the next war - or that the safest prophecy is - that it will prove a greater riddle than the last. That it will begin in confusion and end in chaos. It is not that generals and captains

are incompetent, but that the task has passed beyond their competence. Their limitations are due not to a congenital stupidity - as a disillusioned public is apt to assume - but to the growth of science, which has upset the foundations of their technique. They are like men who cling to their little wooden huts in an earthquake. The only way of salvation would be to get out in the open - to survey the problems in complete detachment and from the widest point of view.

"But a scientific habit of thought is the last thing that military education and training

have fostered. Perhaps that is an unalterable condition, for the sciences might hardly survive if they parted company with sentiment - if the bulk of their members detached themselves from the loyalties which are incompatible with the single-minded loyalty to truth that science demands. - - -

(From the last chapter on "Would another War End Civilization?")

319 - - - ~~319~~ - - - "While ~~convinced~~ recognizing the possibility that Mrs. Milner's prediction (that another war will end civilization) may be justified, I can see reasons why it may not. Even if it is fulfilled I am inclined to think that the effect will come in an indirect

and unsupported way, rather than in
the direct fashion that most public-
ists suggest - that it will come
through the paralysis, not through
the destruction, of civilization.

[The good points are because he
thinks the generals are too stupid to
use it effectively. Too conservative.

If Tank. Mustard gas paralyzes
attack or also defense. Shows how
on land & sea there was general paral-
ysis of armies & navies ~~except~~ except
for aircraft. Stalemate]

p. 335. "The prospect for armies is a
dull one. -- Air attack is not much
of a menace to infantry who are
deployed or entrenched. But long
columns on the march are vulnerable.
-- Moreover, they (tanks) are dependent,

like all troops, on being supplied with fuel, food and ammunition. It is against the long and narrow arteries, as well as the concentrated sources of supply, that an attack has its greatest scope. ---

The system of supply of a great army is so complex that it can easily be thrown out of gear. Dislocation will suffice, with little destruction, to cripple the power of movement. Every increase in the mobility - the speed and range - of aircraft threatens to increase the immobility of armies.

"Thus the awe-inspiring advance of the armies may end in a general fiasco - although locally it may spell tragedy. For little imagination is needed to picture the make of

infed soldiery, breaking their ranks
as hunger becomes acute and pillag-
ing their own towns and countryside
- to the quicker starvation of all in
common, unless an armistice be
speedily arranged so that communi-
cations may be restored. And
the war may peter out in an attrition
place charged with the sense of
futility.

336

--- "The larger the army that a
country maintains and tries to
maintain on the outbreak of war,
the weaker that country may
be. ---

"But even if successful, it is
difficult to picture these forces
[small, powerful mechanized foot troops]
achieving more than to multiply

the disorder in the interior of the country which would already have been created by an attack on the industrial centres and arteries of traffic. Unless the defender signified his immediate surrender, and this would be difficult for him in a state of chaos, it would be necessary to follow up the stroke with reinforcements and occupying troops. Here would lie the invader's hardest problem - harder than ever in the past, since the difficulty of maintaining communications is greater. It is conceivable that by extraordinary foresight ----- an attacker might succeed in producing the internal collapse of his adversary without counting his own - but such

forethought has never been shown by any makers of war. The greater probability is that the sequel to the attack would be a mutual breakdown on land.

"At sea, a similar prospect prevails [due to submarine, faster surface light-craft, and airplanes] --- If the flow of commerce could barely continue under the pressure of a few more submarines [in 1915-18], themselves slow and vulnerable, is it reasonable to assume that it can survive the multiplied menace of today and tomorrow?"

328 "Nations may still go to war in the face of the warning. But can they go on with it? The outcome seems more likely to be

merely ridiculous than to be fatally
divisive. Certainly, so far as the
conflict of armed forces is concerned,

"This option, however, does not
banish the ink to the nations who
go to war. That danger is two-
fold; first, that they will not come
to their rescue in time to relieve
order from the chaos into which
their communications will be
plunged; second, that irreparable
damage may be done by deliberate
attack on the centres of population,
ignoring the opponent's armed forces.
[Discounts this, ^{for fear of retaliation & because of other of war} but thinks that
incendiary bombs on big arsenals,
airbases, dockyards & factories will
spread fire & destruction to civil places.]

340 --- "If this soldierly optimism unhelp-

ply makes for war, by its tendency
to delude governments as to the
chances, it promises a compensation
— that it will direct the initial
war-effort along the customary
military road, which appears to
be a cul-de-sac. As the mas-
sive crowds pour down it, con-
gestion and then stagnation are
likely to come as soon as an
attack on the communications
takes effect. The armies
may not even reach the battle-
field before paralysis overtakes
them from the tail up.

"It is then that the danger
of direct air attack on the cities
may come to a head. The air
forces, with the military aid of

layse of the attack before the
collapse of civilization. And
that a sense of the ridiculous
may bring the warring peoples to
their senses before they can
renew the war effort." [But
the armies would impose fascism
on their own peoples & go in for
terrorism. (1934)]

84.

"Four years ago a committee
composed of the younger generals was
appointed to investigate the lessons of
the war, and to see whether they were
adequately applied to our training.

--- It is common knowledge that
this reexamination of war exper-
ience led to the conclusion that
surprise was of paramount import-
ance, both in attack and in defence,

and that the greatest lesson of the last war was that no attack on an enemy in action was likely to succeed unless his resistance was already paralyzed by surprise in some form. " - - - -

141 - "Study of the problem of security, under modern conditions and in present circumstances, tends to the conclusion that it is technically unattainable along customary lines. Augmentation of national armaments can no longer promise an adequate insurance even where superiority is possible. Any such superiority is apt to be far more fleeting than it was under past conditions; more easily forfeited by some technical development. Nor is that all that we have to consider. The material factors in warfare ~~for~~ have multiplied im-

mentally. To evaluate forces and national degrees of security, in terms of numbers, is an obsolete convention. The instruments of warfare have become so intricate and their effects so hypothetical that the most profound calculation may prove no better than a guess in the dark.

180. [The attitude is the prime factor in the adaptability of officers to conditions of modern war] "To cope with the problems of modern war we need, above all, to see them clearly and analyze them scientifically. This requires freedom from prejudice combined with the power of discernment and with a sense of proportion. Only through the capacity to see all relevant factors, to weigh them

fairly, and to place them in relation to ~~one another~~ each other, can we hope to reach an accurately balanced judgment. Discernment may be primarily a gift; and a sense of proportion, too. But their development can be assisted by freedom from prejudice, which largely sets with the individual to achieve — and within his power to achieve it. Or at least to approach it. The way of approach is simple, if not easy — requiring, above all, constant self-criticism and care for precise statement.

"It is easier, however, to find an index of progress, and consequently of fitness to bear the responsibility of exercising judgment. If a man reads or hears a criticism of

anything in which he has an interest, watch whether his first question is as to its fairness and truth. If he reacts to any such criticism with strong emotion; if he bases his complaint on the ground that it is not in 'good taste', or that it will have a bad effect - in short, if he shows concern with any question except 'Is it true?' he thereby reveals that his own attitude is unscientific. Scheming if in his turn he judges an idea not on its merits but with reference to the author of it; if he criticises it as 'boring'; if he argues that authority must be kept because it is authority;

if he takes a particular criticism as a general depreciation; if he confuses opinion with facts; if he claims that any expression of opinion is 'unquestionable'; if he declares that something will 'never' come about, or is 'certain' that any view is right. The path of truth is paved with critical doubt, and lighted by the spirit of objective inquiry.

To view any question subjectively is self-blinding. ~~There is~~ -----

p. 19-20

" But if the gambler (of surprise) fails the last state may be worse than the first. A quantitative advantage on one side may offset some unrealized qualitative advantage on the other; either may be spent by some inadequately appreciated advantage in vulnerability, or by the

related discovery that the effect of an attack is not equal to what was necessary to repay the effort and justify the risk. Weather conditions, psychological conditions, economic conditions, political contingencies all play their part in complicating the problem. The uncertainty which exists as to the actual state of the various nations' forces is nothing to the uncertainty which prevails as to their effect. If the former engenders the fear which leads to war, the latter justifies fears that may deter the decision to embark upon war. It is a certainty that the vitals of each country are exposed to its neighbors' actions. There is one greater certainty - that there is, more uncertainty than

ever before about all the other factors
 with which strategists and statesmen
 must reckon. Compared with the
 present state of flux, it was simple
 to make military calculations in the
 past. The elements of strength were
 to a great extent calculable. To
 embark on war then was no greater
 hazard than that of betting on the
 favourite—and yet the favourite has
 often lost. Today, it is like backing a
 horse that has never run, and whose
 breeding even is unknown. Any pro-
 fessional gambler might think it
 wise to refrain; statesmen should be
 as wise.

On Apr 21, 1912 he shows by many histo-
 rical citations how qualitative superiority
 by superior training or superior weapons

has time and again defeated greater
numbers. Napoleon's saying that
'Providence marches with the big
battalions' is not true. He was
Chauvinists talk about "superiority
in numbers becomes every day more
deceived".] "They forget how Alexander
conquered Asia, how Hannibal defeated
the Roman armies in their own land,
how Belisarius reconquered the
Roman Empire, how Genghis Khan
rapt over Asia and Europe, with
forces far smaller than those oppos-
ing them. They forget the still
clearer proof of the value of superior
armaments which was provided
when Strongbow conquered Ireland
with a few hundred knights, an
astounding lesson in the power of a

technically decisive handfoul which
 was repeated in Cortez' conquest of
 Mexico, Pizarro's conquest of Peru,
 and Clive's conquests in India.
 The contrast between qualitative and quan-
 titative values was exemplified in
 another way at Cambrai on November
 15th, 1717, when the use of only 378 tanks
 and some 4000 tankmen to assist a
 mere six divisions of infantry, produced a
 greater gain of ground and a greater
 shock to the enemy at a cost of some
 5000 casualties, than the use of several
 dozens of divisions had achieved at
 Ypres in a three months effort at a
 cost of 400,000 casualties. [cf. v.v.v.
 especially]

48. The technical conditions of warfare
 have tended more and more to

34

"The Abyssinian Campaigns --- have shown the fallacy of their argument that machines are not a substitute for men - by which they mean the weight of the many, not the quality of the essential few. It has shown, more clearly even than the World War, that mass has become a dangerous encumbrance when the attempt is made to concentrate it on the fighting front. Under modern conditions, and especially the growing menace of air attack, the larger the army the weaker a country may prove in war. Technical quality counts, not drilled quantity." ---

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"The measure of a nation's military strength depends on the measure of

Its vulnerability to attack no less than upon its forces and resources. . . . The vulnerability of the target counts for at least as much as the power of the weapon — and possibly counts for more. " . . . The relative vulnerability of a nation is affected not only by its geographical but by its industrial, political and even sociological conditions. . . .

Wise statecraft would give as much attention to diminishing and dispersing the target offered to an enemy's power as to developing its own power. The preparedness of the people is no less important. As safeguards against air attack, for example, education and understanding count at least as much as concrete measures for the provision of shelters and masks."

S's individualism & selectivity among
people requires country life as its basis.
Conflicts with his choiciness among people.
Should get over suspicion of strangers & of working
class people and not confuse aesthetic
with moral or intellectual judgments.
More tolerance. He is a mixture of his
somewhat feudal & ~~small~~ small town
childhood and his city adulthood.

Consider separation of moral & aesthetic
judgments as an element in toleration.

~~If, as A. L. Morgan suggests, the
future for a long time~~

What if people could get as inter-
ested, as determined, as persistent,
^{imaginative and}
as happy and enthusiastic about
union with God as they do in regard

to equal union with one another.
 Consider this not only with regard to
 mystical union in meditation and
 contemplation, but also the union
 between the divine in one person
 with the divine in another.

Education should include knowledge
 of and skill in use of our chief tools of
 living, including symbolism and money.

If I work to secure human trust, and
 am paid in money for my labor, how can
 we separate trust as medium of exchange
 from money as a storehouse of value or
 as a symbol of trust? Each kind of
 money must be convertible into ^{any of} the
~~others~~ others? Look for analogies,
 like translation from one language to another? Or
 analyze the connections.

EDUCATION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

By Zalmen Slesinger . . .
312 pp. . . . New York:
Covici-Friede . . . \$3. 1937

Dr. Slesinger's argument is clear and simple, consisting of four propositions: (1) American society is economically class-structured, with a class struggle already going on between the proletariat and the upper bourgeoisie ("capitalist") class; (2) the American state is similarly class-structured, experience showing that no fundamental change is possible by democratic means; (3) the rest of American culture reveals the same fundamental class dichotomy; (4) hence, an effective reorganization of society can be brought about only by a thoroughgoing class revolution. The argument, of course, is a familiar one; what is new in Dr. Slesinger's work is his effective marshalling of the evidence in its support. In proof of Point One he cites a mass of statistical material showing in a score of ways the increasing concentration of wealth which has gone on until today only 12 per cent of the population derives its living from that ownership of private property which is generally regarded in America as such a sacred right. As to class struggle, organized industry spends about eighty million dollars a year in breaking up unionization; in 1934 more than forty workers were killed on picket lines, and in 1935 more than seventy; over two hundred private detective agencies make their living out of furnishing strike breakers and agent provocateurs. Dominance of the government by the propertied class has appeared throughout the history of the judiciary, in Congressional lobbying, in tariff enactments, in the ship subsidy, in inequitable taxation—such as the prevalent sales tax, and in the ever-growing use of police and state militia in strike-breaking. In

Dr. Slesinger makes his task easier by not undertaking to show just how revolution would be either possible or beneficial. His four points are by no means inseparable; the reader may accept one, two or three of them and still balk at the fourth. Marxist, diagnosis is one thing, Marxist therapeutics another. Dr. Slesinger tries to prove the first; he takes the second almost for granted.

To say that, ^{the} clinging to privileged
status is the enemy of democracy is
a mistake for that is common to
all groups - workers as well as
capitalists. Force of habit and

"The office of religion is to aim towards the creation on earth of the Beloved Community. The future task of religion is the task of inventing and applying the arts which shall win men over to unity, and which shall overcome their original hatefulness by the gracious love not of mere individuals but of communities. . . . All else about your religion is the accident of your special race or nation or form of worship or personal opinion. The core of faith is the Beloved Community. There is nothing else under heaven whereby men have been saved or can be saved."

—Josiah Royce, in *The Problem of Christianity*.

general culture, the current values—national, racial, religious, scientific, esthetic and educational—all turn out on close examination to serve the interests of the ruling economic class. Q. E. D., according to Dr. Slesinger. American society and culture are class-structured throughout, and cannot be changed except through revolution.

Quotations from "The Story of Money"
by Norman Angell, F.A. Stokes Co. N.Y.
1929.

p. 8. The problem of the price level is the most important single problem of our age. It is fundamental to trade depression, unemployment, labor unrest, class hatred, high taxation, etc.

(?) p. 32. "The preponderance of physical force is not with the autocrats or the oligarchy, but with the mass. What gives the hierarchy its real force is that men are governed mainly by habits, custom and routine, which they soon come to identify with morality. The thing to which we are accustomed is the thing which we regard usually as right; and it is extremely difficult for us to question its rightness, still

less refuse to go on doing it. And in early societies, where men gave supernatural sanction to what we regard as very secular activities, a custom could quickly harden into a 'law' so rigid that the boldest heretic dare not question it; and a man toiled slavishly, took a tiny part of the product, died in the useless quarrels of chief or tribe, without for a moment questioning the need or equity of his sacrifice; and by such unquestioning activities riveted upon himself the very chains of the system which held him prisoner. When he stumbled upon such devices as writing, printing, money, inductive reasoning, he began to require

habits of freedom which made great inroads into the habits of acquiescence and conformity. Written law had to become more elaborate and have behind it great power just because social conformity lost its power.

"This much seems clear: the force of social custom, without much power of centralized government, could produce, in China, in the independent groups of the Middle Ages, and in ancient Egypt (though in the latter case the centralization of power took a more visible and formal shape), an elaborate society that was mainly moneyless just because the momentum of social custom by fixing both duties and rewards, made

money unnecessary. That strength
of custom made a slave of the indiv-
idual the more easily, because he
had not learned the use of money.

~~(54) The Egyptians~~

93. "It is fitting that the Greeks, to
whom more than to any other people
the western world owes its democracy,
were the first fully to democratize
money (or, perhaps, be democratized
by it); to make its use common
with the ordinary man, and to
impose upon it public control for
the public benefit. The Egyp-
tians and Cretans, who had pre-
ceded them in that elaboration of
life which we call civilization,
had known money in the form of

a designated weight of metal used as a medium of exchange, but its use, as we saw in a previous chapter, was necessarily confined to a limited class, an oligarchy, and a very limited order of transactions.

"So long as the medium of exchange was a given quantity of some commodity, even though that commodity took the form of ingots of metal with a seal certifying their weight and genuineness, money had not yet become a thing which entered every man's life and every man's pocket. It had neither the social power nor the social dangers which it acquired when it took the form of a coined currency. 'Coins changed the nature of wealth, which, more clearly separable now from divine

right, was to be as powerful as ever.
More than any other one thing, coin-
age destroyed the old aristocracy
(quotation from Cambridge Ancient History,
III, p 542) Metal as a commodity
was not subject to the easy infla-
tion, to the misunderstandings which
arose when the coinage appeared
and became complicated with the
magic of symbols. We shall
miss the essence of the money
difficulty if we fail to realize the
gap which separates a weighed
quantity of some valued ~~metal~~
material used for purposes of ex-
change, from a coinage which,
though it be made of that mate-
rial, becomes also a symbol, sym-
bol carrying the insignia of

authority, ^{H.} tokens of something else,
means. - - -

n 94. "But the Greeks learned courage
(though they were not probably the first
to learn it), and it did for them in
fairly full measure what money
thus developed does for people; it
gave, as Herodotus has pointed out,
freedom of movement and leisure to
a number of people who could not
otherwise have enjoyed these priv-
ileges. 'That', says H. J. Wells,
'is the peculiar value of money to
mankind. Instead of a worker or
helper being paid in kind and in
such a way that he is tied as much
in his enjoyment as in his labor,
money leaves him free to do as he
pleases amidst a wide choice of pro-

cherable ~~into~~ aids, save, and indulgences. He may eat his money or drink it or ~~not~~ give it to a temple or spend it in learning something or save it against some future occasion. That is the good of money, the freedom of its universal convertibility'. (The Outline of History. H. J. Wells. London, 1920, p 233.)

— — —

95. — — — "Up to the sixth century B.C. no gold was coined in the Greek cities. They adhered to silver. Uncoined gold may have been used by weight for the settlement of large bargains or external trade, but silver was the money of every day life.

"The source of this silver was the mines of Sicily, which

were the property of the government. The silver was often stored in the temples, and the coinage of money was under the supervision of the priests. ----

96. ~~What is certain is~~ --- The Greeks, organized into small city states, preserved in their own hands the right to issue money as they thought necessary. It is true that some numismatists believe that we have coins issued in Athens in the seventh century B.C. that carry the armorial bearings of ruling families, but the evidence seems doubtful. What is certain is that religious influence affected the first currencies. In early times the temples had been responsible for issuing money. This may have come about in several ways. As

21.
war or courage appeared it was
extremely important, of course, to
insure that the hallmark of gen-
uineness was not lightly given, and
would be one likely to impress the
people and cause acceptance of
this new thing. Further, metallic
reserves in the shape of bars of
metal against the need of war time
or other catastrophes were kept in
the temples, possibly with the
feeling that by placing these
reserves under the protection of the
gods, sacrilege would be added to
the crime of theft. ---

107.

Rules and philosophies in the
ancient world, even the world of the
Renaissance, wrestled in their minds
with, nearly all the problems that

confront the world's bankers today. They
 saw, at least dimly, the dangers of
 inflation and deflation, the need for elas-
 ticity, the advantages of credit, the
 fact that money should be 'managed'
 in the general interest, the distinc-
 tion between money and wealth.

Yet it is true to say that one of the
 causes of Rome's fall was the ineffic-
 iency of her monetary system, and
 that for a thousand years the policy
 of European states was initiated by
 the crudest and 'illicit' fallacies
 concerning the nature of money. . . .

p. 113. "There begins to be revealed early in
 Roman monetary history - in the history
 of the ~~Republic~~ republic that is -
 what all history has since revealed,
 that the great occasion of debasement

and inflation is war." [another
connection between money and violence].

p. 144.

[a quotation from R.H. Tawney -
'Religion and the Rise of Capitalism',
London 1926, p. 100.] "The quality
in modern societies, which is
most sharply opposed to the
teaching ascribed to the founders
of the Christian Faith, lies
deeper than the exceptional fail-
ures and abnormal follies against
which criticism is most common-
ly directed. It consists in
the assumption, accepted by
most reformers with hardly less
naivete than by the defenders
of the established order, that
the attainment of material riches
is the supreme object of human

endeavours and the final criterion of human success. Such a philosophy, plausible, militant, and not indisposed, when hard pressed, to silence criticism by persecution, may triumph or may decline. What is certain is that it is that it is the negation of any system of thought or morals which can, except by a metaphor, be described as Christian. Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire.

361-362.

"Professor Irving Fisher has further described the secondary evils of price

fluctuations - 'Speculation, uncertainty, crises, depression, resentment, violence, ill-considered "remedies", and unemployment due to the periodic dislocation of trade.' ["Stabilizing the Dollar", N.Y. 1920, p⁷⁶]

'The real criterion for the interest policy of the banks is therefore maintenance of a controlled price level' [Gustav Cassel, 'Das Stabilisierungs Problem', Leipzig, 1926, p 46]. But that is not as simple an aim as it sounds.

" 'Fixity of value is a conception which itself calls for explanation. --- The index number ought to be based on all commodities, weighted according to their consumption, and it ought even to embrace services, but only consumable commodities or services, for otherwise we

materials and ^{intermediate} ~~consumables~~ services would be counted twice over. But then what allowance is to be made for a general scarcity or general abundance of commodities? The better alternative seems to be to aim at making the consumers' outlay constant. But, of course it must not be absolutely constant; it must vary with the population, and must also vary in some way with the quality of the work they do. If that ideal could be attained, the value of the monetary unit in terms of human effort could be kept fixed.

'But this is not the only possible solution. The monetary unit is employed for the measurement of debts. The purpose of fixing its

value is to preserve justice between debtor and creditor. What the lender of
(?) money counts to defer is his consumption of commodities, and it would seem to follow logically that what he should receive back is the same command over consumable commodities ^{as} ~~that~~ he surrendered. ["Currency and Credit" - R. G. Hawtrey, London, 1919, p 374]

"Another English economist, Mr. D. H. Robertson, suggests that an index number of the transaction value of money, in which considerable weight is attached to wage payments, would be better than the ordinary wholesale price index as a governor of price ~~commodity~~ policy." ---

368.

" Professor Lewis proposes that each unit of currency should at all times be convertible into four warrants, entitling the possessor to receive respectively, a pounds of wheat, b pounds of cotton, c pounds of iron, and d pounds of silver, and realizable through the agency of a special bank. There would thus be room for variation in the relative value of the warrants but not in their total value. A writer in the American Economic Review has gone so far as to propose the actual accumulation of reserves of non-perishable commodities to be exchanged against currency in precisely the same way as gold is exchanged at present.

" On the other hand there are

those who reject the tying up of money with any material commodity or even with a formula. Stability of prices, it is argued, can only be achieved by directly proportioning the volume of currency and credit to the commercial transactions which it has to perform. Mr. Taylor Piddie proposes the divorce of money from gold and the regulation of credit by careful scrutiny of the purposes for which each loan is required.

Commercial bills of exchange would then constitute the basis of the quantity of money, which etc. etc.

41. "Perhaps the hardest task of all", says Cunningham in dealing with Egypt, "is to find suitable phraseology in which to describe and discuss the

reported phenomena. Before the era of money economy, the sides of life, which we distinguish as economic and political, were merged together: in Egyptian history, foreign commerce cannot be readily distinguished from tribute paid by the dependencies, and (to use modern terms) the "organization of labor" was intimately connected with the "incidence of taxation." To ~~fasten~~ Roman life - - -

"Many of us are inclined to agree that it would be well to substitute organization for our existing arrangements. In ancient Egypt, as far as we can see, there was no competition, and no speculation or money-grubbing on the part of individuals. There was no industrial tyranny which oppres-

and the labour, and ground the axes
out of criminals in the mines; but
this was merely part of the admin-
istrative system of the country; the
political and social organization
were not distinct. [Western Civil-
ization in its Economic Aspects' by W.
Cunningham, London, 1924, vol I - p 11.]

"The Egyptian world, moreover
as far as the common man was
concerned, was highly organized,
intensely disciplined. It produced
great results and it was very stable;
as unchanging, it must have seemed
to those who lived in it, as the
provision of the seasons. But the
individual was lost - merged in the
organization, at the mercy of a
machine which ran by the

native force of custom which had become religion, a force of which the Pharaoh himself was subject and of which he himself was the slave. --

45. The convenience of a universal right as compared with a particular right (such as is conferred by a bank ticket) especially in a highly complex civilization, would ensure the retention of money. The money might not be of gold or silver — paper might be found more convenient — but some sort of general medium of exchange would be found indispensable. The check system might be retained; but it is likely that the banks (or whatever similar institutions were then called) would become the institutions for recording the production and con-

sumption of goods, instead of recording
the production and consumption of
money, the right to use goods.' [
[Modern Finance by Emile Burns, London,
1922, p 35.

p. 56. "Since money is the instrument by
which exchanges are made, its existence
implies the presence of exchange as a
settled and normal part of human
intercourse. But before exchange can
have developed thus far man must
have advanced to at least three con-
ceptions: (1) that of private property;
(2) that of benefit by exchange
which as well as involving a logical
difficulty to be indicated presently,
involves some notion of relative values
— how to value one thing in terms of
another — which involves (3) measure-

ment." ---

53. "The confusion between the measure and the thing it measures, the confusion, that is, between money and wealth, the belief that you can add to wealth by the simple process of adding to its volume has been even more devastating than the belief that a fluctuating measure is a stable one." ---

72. "The usual definition of the functions of money are that money is a medium of exchange, a measure of value, a standard of deferred payment, and a store of value. --- With reference to these functions of money Jevons has pointed out that we are so accustomed to use the same substance in all the four different ways that they tend to become confused together in thought.

We come to regard as almost necessary
that union of functions which is, at
the most, a matter of convenience and
may not always be desirable. We
might certainly employ one substance
as a medium of exchange, a second as
a measure of value, a third as a
standard of deferred payment, and
a fourth as a store of value. In
buying and selling we might trans-
fer portions of gold; in expressing
and calculating prices we might
speak in terms of silver; when
we wanted to make long leases
we might define the rent in terms of
wheat, and when we wished to
carry our riches away we might
condense it into the form of
precious stones. This use of different

commodities for each of the functions of money has in fact been partially carried out. [Note. In Queen Elizabeth's reign silver was the common measure of value; gold was employed in large payments in quantities depending upon its current value in silver, while copper was required by the Act 18th Eliz. ch. VI (1576) to be the standard of value in drawing the lines of certain college lands.]

79. "Chinese currency has been widely varied. Says De Halde, on the money that at different times has been current there: 'There was also money made of tin, lead, iron, and even baked earth, on which figures and characters were imprinted. It is related that after the reign of Han (B.C. 211), a prince caused money to be

made of stamped earth united with a strong glue, and taking it into his hand to put down copper money, he gathered as much as he could, buried it very deep in the earth, and killed the workmen that were employed about it, that none might know where it was hidden. [History of China by Dr. Halls, II, p 198.]

105.

What has happened to Rome?

A variety of answers are given - a decline in religion, a decline from the virtues of the Roman forefathers, a Greek intellectual poison, and the like. But as H. J. Wells points out [The Outline of History, London, 1910, p 134], "we who can look at the problem with a large perspective, can see that what had happened

to Rome was "money" - the new freedom and chances and opportunities that money opened out. 'The flexibility and transferability of money was becoming a power, and, like all powers in unexpert hands, a danger in human affairs' etc. -

135. ~~In the case of Sparta iron had been the~~ "But there is at least some ground for supposing - and some profound students of monetary history are indeed convinced that it is the case - that some of these ancient peoples did for long periods live under a system of managed currency, and that it served their ends far better than the 'intrinsic value currencies' to which they looked. They achieved this - if they did - not by

the elaboration of any intricate technique, but by the acceptance, almost accidental, certainly not very conscious or analyzed, of a single underlying principle, namely, that the value of money should be a matter of social authority controlling its quantity; that it is a means of social bookkeeping, a piece of money being evidence that its holder is entitled to a certain amount of goods. This stabilization of prices we in our day are hoping to achieve by an elaborate technique of banking, discount rates, rationing of credit, sale and purchase of securities, fiduciary currency legislation, Federal Reserve Systems, international control of

gold. But these ancient societies might well have achieved roughly the same end in a much simpler way - by making the quantity of money (in this case not complicated by its extension through banking and credit devices), a matter of public authority; by the acceptance of the principle that the value of money did not rest upon the commodity value of the material out of which it was composed, but upon the amount which the community agreed to issue and accept as money."

[See also "Money & Civilization" by Seligman, London, 1886]

132. "Mercantilism" = "the system of economic doctrines and legislative policy based on the principle that

money alone constitutes wealth'. --

154. "But that there was a real intellectual confusion between money and wealth it is hard to deny, given the fact that the confusion in a more literate and educated world flourishes abundantly today, and linked, as it is, to nationalism, is perhaps still the most disruptive force in European civilization."

152. "Professor R. S. Sutherland, in his work on Money [Principles of Money + Banking, R. S. Sutherland, Chicago, 1926] says:

"The general confusion of mind that has always existed with reference to the nature and functions of money, and the widespread and persistent

belief that money is somehow mysterious with, or at least a superior form of, wealth, and that in consequence of its accumulation is one of the chief ends and aims of individuals and of society, are the main underlying causes of the great monetary movements and controversies of history. At bottom, the trade regulations to secure importations of specie, the periodical debasing of the currency, the issues of redeemable paper money, and the use of two metals as a standard were all largely caused by the belief ~~it~~ in the value of such money.

[If then be the use of strip & separation of the functions of money would clarify the public mind

of the present error and do much
to prevent future debasement & a
devaluation of the medium of
exchange. (Key.)

161.

"After the peace the Allies said:
Germany must pay the whole cost
of the War, but she must not be
allowed to increase her exports so
as to compete with Allied trade.
-- and no one would have thought the
condition made the execution of
the demand utterly impossible.
For years the French and British
public - newspapers, politicians,
professional patriots - went on
shouting to Germany (as some
Americans shout today to Europe),
'It's your money we want, not
your goods! And what is more,

they took steps in the way of tariffs to
 make the export of goods was
 made impossible.

[Think this through. The mfg. & workers
 did not want it because it would stop
 profits & make unemployment. This shows
 that they had not really in a money economy
 what real wealth was destroyed by the war
 could never be recovered or paid back.
 Wealth is not only things, it is also the chance to work & ship profit.
 Also that wealth could quickly be repro-
 duced by the vast productivity of modern
 mfg. The losses were losses of confidence & trust
 of faith & ideals. Germany could not pay those
 back. *Arg*].

--- "The confusions - the old, the over-
 casting, the agelong confusions - have
 for a decade rendered impossible
 economic world settlements which
 otherwise would have been made long

since; they shattered for a time the
economic fabric of Central Europe;
condemned millions to death, and,
linked to the Nationalisms that
ravage as violently as ever, may
yet destroy European civilization.

179.

Re the change in attitude
toward money & interest he
says: "The fact that we have
changed so completely our attitude
on this point, means a great deal
more than that we have changed
an opinion upon the morality of
some detail of commercial practice.
It means for good or ill a change
in the part which religious and
moral sanctions play in our
lives." - - -

- 184-5 "It is mortal sin to charge a

man for the use of ~~his~~ money. But
rent - a charge for the use of a house -
is entirely moral. A. needs a house.
You offer to build him one at a cost of
ten thousand dollars and charge him
six hundred dollars a year rent.

185 That would have been entirely
moral in the terms of the old thoughts
about these things. But A. says,
'I would like to build the house
myself exactly as I want it. So
lend me the money and I will pay
you the rent as interest on the loan.'
That immediately becomes wrong,
criminal and infamous, and under
a thousand old laws would have
condemned the person guilty of it
to ferocious punishment, imprison-
ment and sometimes torture. --

"Andolli theme was taken over without much modification by the early Schoolmen. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas comment on these passages in Andolli, without adding anything of note in regard to money.

190.

"It was (the money) " It was the need of the monarch for money - mainly as the means of war - which helped to break down the old rule. As the money economy grew, more and more were pressed compelled in emergencies to turn to Jews, Lombards, or others who afforded the means of replenishing the royal treasury at times when money was urgently needed. - -

196.

... the point of the older view

was that all economic processes should
 be subject to the moral law. The
 individual tradesman, merchant,
 capitalist, was held morally respon-
 sible for the outcome of his activ-
 ities. ... We have a code of morals,
 of consideration for others, of mutual
 helpfulness, public charity and
 assistance. But we do not mix all
 that with business. We do not
 see how we can. We tend to put
 our moral values in one compart-
 ment and our economic values in
 another. But to the medievalist
 they were all in one compartment,
 and he would not have known
 how to separate them.

Since the State covers a certain geographic area & all who live in it, it is an ~~an~~ ^{involuntary} ~~policy~~ organization. We cannot resign from it as we can from voluntary organizations. If we try to resign from it we have to go elsewhere, and then we find ourselves in another State. We must resign ourselves to ~~some~~ joint life with men. Organized force is not the whole basis of the State but it is the distinctive mark of the State. But it should give that up because it ^{violence} has now become too destructive of the common life of man. Only freedom is consonant with life of man and ~~only~~ democracy is the only possible form of govt ~~possible~~ able to give freedom. A self-to rule democracy ~~is~~ is based on respect for personality, any policy but A.V.N. is inconsistent with it.

From an article on "Loving Peace and Waging War" by Carl Becker in the Yale Review - Summer, 1937.

651 ... "While nearly everyone professes to love peace, very few are willing to be called pacifists. The reason for this apparent inconsistency, I think, is this: a man can love peace without committing himself to anything; but he cannot be a pacifist without incurring obligations, without committing himself to a definite line of conduct in the real world when a real war comes along. The difference is immense. The point is that peace is not one of those concrete objective goods that men strive to attain. Peace is an abstraction - a word which vaguely symbolizes a condition of things which should enable men, with the minimum of distress, to

obtain the concrete goods and to avoid the concrete evils which attract or alarm them. In the real world man cannot obtain the goods or avoid the evils without inflicting upon themselves and others a ~~at~~ certain amount of distress.

In the real world men are never (except in an academic discussion) offered a choice between peace and conflict; they are offered a choice between doing or not doing what they judge necessary under the particular circumstances in order to obtain the concrete good or to avoid the concrete evil. What men really prefer in any concrete situation is neither quiet nor activity, neither peace nor war, but what at the moment is judged (however mistakenly) to be the relative good, which is always

at the same time the lesser evil. ----
 --- All the wars of modern times have had
 their 'occasions', their 'causes', which are
 carefully noted in all the history books;
 what is less often noted is the fact that
 war issues from these occasions and
 causes, not because they are adequate
 (objectively considered they are usually
 trivial), but because the underlying
 assumptions as to state interests and
 the right of war, operating upon the
 minds of statesmen and diplomats and
 people generally, invest them with an
 illusory significance. ----

The sad truth is that the mass of the
 people, loving peace in the abstract,
 derive an emotional and muscular
 satisfaction from conflict, including the
 conflict that is war. The average man

is less effectively moved by national con-
siderations than by tradition and habit,
by deep-seated sentimental responses,
by that biological inheritance that
still disposes him to love a fight
for the sake of a fight, and to find
a virtue in being bloody for no reason
at all except to experience the inde-
fensible satisfaction of being unbowed.
----- "In the most fundamental sense,
war rests upon the competitive instincts
of man, and is validated by the tra-
ditional assumption that nations can
profit by depriving each other of
valued possessions. Looked at in this
light, the problem of war is only one
aspect of the wider problem of social
justice. Social injustice within the
nations likewise rests upon the com-

petitive instincts of man, and is validated
 by the traditional assumption that in-
 dividuals or classes can profit by depriv-
 ing each other of valued possessions. With
 what grace, then, can we ask nations
 to abandon the competitive struggle for
 prestige and property on the ground
 that these ends are limited and
 scarce, so long as we commend and
 reward individuals for success in a
 competitive struggle for precisely these
 ends? As John A. Hobson long ago
 pointed out, in his invaluable book
 "Imperialism", it will be difficult to
 abolish war between nations until
 something is done to shake the economic
 conflict within nations.

Two further reasons for IK and manual work are that when the expansion of industries for war work drops there will be a fearful depression long lasting. Also because the drop in pop will drive people to the country where supplementary industries with ag. will be needed.

It is often argued that young countries, like children, have to be pragmatic and fight with violence before they learn a better way. But this is not so, for children lack control only up to the age when they ^{speak and} gain general concepts into which they can fit & integrate a pattern of behaviours. Cf. Durin pp 411, 426, 420, 344. The development of the functional barrier 362 probably over 7 yrs of age.

This should be discussed in my new book in the part on how early children can learn to read.

But ~~young~~ groups of grown people do not have such a lack as the children do.

Sorokin's tables showing that the ^{& their destructiveness} number of wars "has not decreased but increased during the centuries shows not that it is impossible to eliminate it but that none of the methods tried hitherto are effective.
∴ Use M.V.N.

I had better make a list of my books & papers to save in case of "fire",
(1) war and imprisonment.

Q Note from A. K. Coomaraswamy's
paper "The Vedic Doctrine of 'Silence'"
printed in 'Indian Culture' Vol III ^{pt 4}
p. 563. note 1. "It may be added that while
from a religious point of view silence and
fasting and other acts of abstinence are
acts of penance, from a metaphysical
point of view their significance has no
longer to do with the mere improvement
of the individual as such but with the
realization of supra-individual conditions.
The contemplative life as such is super-
ior to the active life as such. It does
not follow however that the state of the
Conqueror or even that of the Wayfarer
should be one of total inaction; this
would be an imperfect imitation of the
Supreme Identity where eternal rest and
eternal work are one and the same.

There is an adequate imitation only when inaction and action are identified, as intended by the Bhagavad Gita and the Taoist wu wei; action no longer implying limitation when it is no longer determined by needs or compelled by ends to be attained, but becoming a simple manifestation.

560. (Re ritual) "there are certain acts that are performed with a vocal accompaniment and others silently. --- 'for what is silent is undeclared, and what is undeclared is everything.'"

562-3 "In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad III, 6, where there is a dialogue on Brahman, the position is finally reached where the questioner is told that Brahman is 'a divinity about which further questions cannot be asked', and at this the questioner 'holds her peace'.

2) (apararāma). This is, of course, in perfect agreement with the employment of the via negativa in the same texts, where it is said that the Brahman is 'No, No' (nēti, nēti); and also with the traditional text quoted by Śaṅkara on Brahma Sūtra, III, 2, 17, where Brahma, questioned regarding the nature of Brahman remains silent (tūṣṭim), only exclaiming when the question is repeated for the third time, 'I teach you indeed, but you do not understand; this Brahman is silence'. Precisely the same significance attaches to the Buddha's refusal to analyze the state of nirvāṇa. In Bhagavad Gītā, X, 38, Krishna speaks of himself as 'the silence of the hidden ones (manasa gūḥyām)', and the groins of the

gates (jñānam jñānavatām); -----

The secret of initiation (to Brahmanhood) remains inviolable by its very nature; it cannot be betrayed because it cannot be expressed, - it is inexplicable, but the inexplicable is baffling, at the same time all that can and all that cannot be expressed. --- The Supreme Identity

569 is neither merely intention merely vocal, but literally a no-what that is at the same time indefinable and partially defined, an unspoken and a spoken Word."

^{on abolition of private ownership of land}
Re single tax, although it may be the chief ex. aim to work for, but its very long history will make it very hard to attain. ~~The event~~ Also even if it is once attained, how can you hold

~~public~~ control ~~of~~ of the govt by the people? These two points make it clear that the primary reform, both in point of time and deeper ^{and permanent} ~~importance~~ necessity, is getting power into the hands of the people. It must be democratic. This can be only N.V.R. ^{to attain it & hold it.}

Since it is probable that the momentum, the Karma, of capitalistic industrialism will drag western nations into war before we can get widespread understanding of N.V.R. and widespread practice of its discipline; and since the majority of the people would then want to go to war if attacked or if heated up by propaganda and we should not interfere with their doing so,

probably could not
 and, ~~cannot~~ prevent it anyway, there
 remains for us the doctrine of the
 remnant, the salt ~~the~~ that savors or
 the yeast that ferments the lump.
 By public service we must win to leader-
 ship, even tho we remain ^{relative} a few. As after
 the world war, there may after
 another war be a swing to socialism.
 This time it could be made far more
 realistic and thorough than before. I
 feel it would have to do so. Perhaps
 if the war broke down soon into a
 weary stalemate, as Liddell Hart thinks,
 the clear cut ideas and program of the
 socialist party may ~~be the only~~ make it
 possible for them to take power by
 their appeal to the people, or if not that,
 at least to become the strongest opposition
 party & compelling the govt to yield.

On the evening of my letter to
 Dick Shoppard re policy for the V.K.s in
 war, may one ever protest against
 war? Must not the civil doctor al-
 ways act according to his beliefs? Is
 it he always under that moral
 necessity? ^{Should we ever approach him in war?} Of the capitalist
 player cutting wages.

But the militarist demands
 that all the nation ^{follow} him, that
 his way of action shall prevail and
^{in time of war.} ~~everybody conform~~ ^{So there is that}
~~difference between~~ Also most people
^{and feeling is most intense} agree with him, Also as soon as
~~his way is entered upon in war~~
 war breaks out and the govt
 accepts the inevitable method of
 meeting it, there is a danger to
 the common life which gives an

See Notebook XXXIX
 pp 126, 131-133, 127, 100, 192.
 pp. 113, 114, 115.

How did he even tell the rest of the audience followers that they were wrong to protest in their place.

urgency to the militant demand for ^{immediate} action. With other evils there is not so clearly a long period of ^{deliberate} preparation and then sudden action.

My proposal is somewhat comparable to Gandhi's retirement from politics in order to do village work. Jones

did not protest ^{as was or as the mil-} ^{the present state of} ^{oppression of his people by Rome.} ^{the} ^{of Rome} Consider it in reference

to a change of form from war to warfare.

It is the intensity of public feeling in times of war that makes verbal protest a waste of energy, moral and otherwise.

The opposition should be then by ^{individual or group refusal to fight plus} ^{only} constructive action for something different. In an individual case, a n.v.c.

would not attempt to ^{oppose} ^{verbally} a man in a towering passion of rage, ^{Would try to divert his attention} or an insane person. What talk there

the handful of fans??

by way of
then would be would be, diversion of
energy into another channel

Again, the ^{industrial} civil does is working per-
manently, the warior says the war
will not last long. I was there
^{but} few outsiders, ^{in the country at war} ready to hear both
sides. But is with the ordinary
civil does, surrounded by many
other kinds of people doing other
kinds of things.

The use of scrip would help
us get out of the detailed habits
of economic individualism & competition
and acquisitiveness

In order to hold onto the machine
which signifies only a possibility
of human affluence for all, most

Socialists

~~Socialists~~ are willing to use violence which will mark all society & bring poverty upon most and loss of intellectual & spiritual & political freedom to all. Also for that same purpose lots of people say that Socialism must come and that only Socialism can save the ~~the~~ world. I am not sure but that private property, & small scale production will suffice to provide man as soon as population diminishes, and

Nevertheless, ^{science} machinery & technology are a necessary condition for modern abundance for all.

One reason why modern society is not as moral as individual man is that one of the chief binding forces of modern society is money, in its present form and function largely ^{im-}moral, and the other strong force in society is war & violence. The individual man is not ~~now~~ held together by money or by the violence of his members toward one another.

Though private property in land is a grave ~~ev-~~ & illud evil, it does not incline all & warp all to ~~its~~ believe in it the way money does. Great numbers of men are not landlords, but are oppressed by this evil & know it for evil.

But money is so ubiquitous, so illusion-
 providing, so deceptive, & quite univer-
 sal in use. So it numbs all
 & nobody says it^{itself} is wrong. They
 do see abuses in its use, - banks
 control etc, but not in itself.

N.V.R. is the psychology for
 the twin monsters of capitalism and
~~the~~ violence (war).

I want in my new book to regard to
 the point of refusal to pay taxes, that this
 should not be done until the peasant
 has worked out a clear way of creating a
 substitute for the state, ~~and~~ a bridge to
 the new order which will not disrupt the
 life of the nation, and also a pretty clear
 picture of the transitional organization &

also has acquired skill in the new way.

something of a picture of the intellect for
the State. } of A.D. Sunday on Democracy,
the 1st on the State & the Community.

Also Siskie, Refused to pay taxes, like
the general strike, is open and final
battle with the very existence of the
State itself. Don make that challenge
tell you are thoroughly prepared &
have demonstrated to the masses &
classes your executive and administra-
tive capacity. For the masses ^{in society} must
have order & security, & it will
cost violence in order to have security.
Also until he has practiced enough to get
real skill & self confidence.

Police of. to Enayel Birt.
14th ed. have the duty "of maintaining
public order and of enforcing regula-

tion for the prevention and detection of crime". It is "a civil organization, established by authority, for maintaining the essential tranquillity of the state and the security of its citizens in their lawful occupations". Since true order is both inner & outer & only N.V. persuasion can establish that, the police should be ~~govt~~ govt specialists in N.V. to teach it to the people & to persuade people to ~~comply with~~ ^{adhere to} the State's ~~purpose~~ ^{admission} that way.

Since my plans and expectations ^{as well as my memories} and desires, enter into my now, my present, ~~as~~ now "bushes into" both past and future as H. J. Wells says. What relation has this to our plans for

a new society? And how do means enter
into this? Do not the means grow
out of my inner attitude? And that
is a part of the present.

Wells in an essay on Anne in his
"The Way the World is Going" (1927)
suggests that the more alert and
attentive and concentrated one becomes,
the narrower is his now; the
present broadens out as one becomes
dreamier & ^{more} reverie, ⁱⁿattention, until
in complete sleep there is no
distinction for the person between
present & past & future. But in
dreams both past & future are all
jumbled & it is very difficult to
separate them.

If another war comes, after it

panfirm will be the only program
that can inspire hope for a future or
can give significance to human life.
∴ It may win popular support,

for even Charlatans desire those

two things. Perhaps I did not come after
previous ones because it was
not sufficiently developed. A q. which will be changed after
another one, - desire for a significant life or for, power & hate.

This is good reason to make it out as clearly as possible & get it published.

Instead of money interest we will learn
to develop community & mutual aid

Because money is antithetical it cannot
be used to clarify, resolve & settle conflicts.
It creates them. It creates occasions for
the use of force. Reform of money will
help to prevent pervasion of govt power.

"The Cultural Heritage of India" Sri
Rambhadracharya Centenary Memorial Vols.
Rs 12. Sri R. Cent Com. Belur Math, Culcutta

Humility comes out of "losing one's soul"
(ego) i.e. going back to the unity of the
Spirit. Then one works like Tao with
no ambition.

Discusses in new book the place of
different ways of working for peace, - i.e.
politic, social, yoga, etc.

Buddhist Lodge, 2 Eston Gate,
London S.W.1.

There should be a connection between
the value function of money and its
function as a medium of exchange.
Make that connection limited and def-
inite.

In new book try to see if all elements of

the Sermon on the Mount are considered.

The R.C. church and monasteries have had discipline, but they failed perhaps because of money, war and private land ownership. Socialist expts did not have formal discipline and had money.

When population begins to decrease, the people who help others and live very simply will be the ones who survive. So simplicity is right in line with developments. So is K, because of that and because of economic decline & the burden of the aged and of the young. As older population increases they must be self-supporting - not

Point out in new book that all

kind of people, both rich and manual
workers, hate to change their ways
(^{T.N.}intellectual) and will fight to retain
them. A period of rapid transition
is ahead and that means great &
swift changes, much conflict, and
much need for U.V.A. If manual
workers can realize that they hate
to change just as much as the rich
do, perhaps they won't hate the
rich so much; and vice versa. A
reason for tolerance.

But we must also have some
organization & institution & order in
which trust can work, — a commun-
ity.

Love is you shall do without money.

Then money will drop into its right place.

In new books answer the query as to what to do ~~with~~ in fascism; also the doubt as to how to make an impression on the opponent in case he bombards us, - no contact between us for the time. Modern war is so impersonal.

One reason why the gradualness of N.V.S. is needed is because if people are rushed too fast out of their habits, they consciously and unconsciously resent it and flare back. E. g. German middle class after the fall of the mark. That frustrated energy must find a way out, and either ~~because the~~ train the people concerned or somebody else.

But if you go too slow you are apt to

be diverted or thwarted by selfish
interests. There must be clear and
widespread understanding of the goal
and of the method, very deep and
permanent desire for the goal,
chief use of the method and im-
mediate physical, mental, emotional
and moral satisfactions from the
regular and steady & persistent use of
the method.

Put the
voluntariness of this
in books.

Sord Pomeroy asserts that training
will create self-righteousness. But I
suspect he is suspicious of a similarity to
church training. But the uniqueness of
desire & pursuit is due to their economic
and social status and security, not
to the discipline. Athletes undergo
training without getting vain or pig-

gish about their bodies or their skills.
 Why cannot perfects be objective about
 their moral natures? ^{good} Soldier does not
 get too vain and smug about their ability.
 Of course small people can get self-satisfied
 about anything they learn to do. But
 to say that training is bad because
 people may get self-satisfied by doing it
 is to put an end to all rapid advance.
 Personality makes the same mistake that
 the church people make, ^{or pride & self-righteousness} in thinking
 that moral ^{power or quality} ~~advantage~~ is due to the power
 of the individual, something which he
 creates, and \therefore something to get smug
 about. Not true.

There are forces of moral and spiritual
 nature just like those of physical nature,
 & laws governing them. To learn these
 laws and apply them gives access to

It is likely avoiding women because you may get in
 for slight sex intercourse, or avoiding marriage because
 you may avoid "get divorced".

an apt illustration

and control over immense power, just as
in the other case. The power of
a steam engine or dynamo or motor
can are not the powers of the individual
man, nor are the powers wielded by
a Goullier or St Francis those of
the individual. To learn the laws
governing such powers, ^{& how to use them} is no more
vain for vanity or pride than in
the case of learning the laws of science.
How can we make great progress in
the moral realm until we learn
these laws, just as man made
but slight progress in physical
realm till he learned the laws of
science.

Large-scale machinery requires
unity & harmony of living by the whole

world in order to keep it going. ^{Communists} ~~Socialist~~
 must on retaining large-scale machinery
 but also ^{are willing} ~~want~~ to use violence. Violence
 shatters unity. So if they retain vio-
 lence they will lose their machinery in
 course of time. Gandhi is wiser,
 making no retention of small machines
 until people learn n.v. . And I
 prefer to join with him.

People will change their habits
 fairly fast in order to get something
 they value. E. g. get a motor car or
 a new house in the country, & make
 great changes to adapt to it. But
 usually these changes must give them
 prestige, & ^{advantage} ~~would~~ approval. Must be
 leaders who win

In economic warfare the high death and injury rate among employees in industry & mining shows part of the deadliness of the warfare. The workers are concepts, the unemployed are casualties somewhat like prisoners of war.

Possibly cannot claim that training in order to paint or play piano or build houses creates self-righteousness. Nor training for medicine, law or engineering. So he must say that training of the body, of aesthetic or mental abilities need not be aligned because it creates self-righteousness. ~~But~~ Nor does he object to training in manners, such as is given to all, children. Nor

does he say as yet that military training is dangerous for that reason. But training of moral & social capacities & powers, he alleges, will merely create self-righteousness. He wants peace without paying an adequate price. He will not get any more than he pays for.

He probably suspects me of religion. I should reassure him of my mistrust of the church.

They ought to think a better reason for giving up my pamphlet than that ^{because of self-righteousness} ^{it indicated a possibly serious hint in} to do it, because I am an American & do not know their ways & habits of thought, their ^{intellectual} prejudices & what else. There would be ^{no} O.K., or just because they dislike taking advice from a foreigner. Or because they dislike me personally.

Book up ~~you~~ H. George on govt
ownership of land.

Probably absentee ownership of
land & possibly private owner-
ship of land both came after
the invention of money. Book this
up.

For safety we ought to live
in a continental country (i.e. airplane
attacks) in mountains & in a demo-
cratic & peaceful one. Russia is;
U.S. is militaristic. ~~U.S. is militaristic.~~

It is a mistake in prayer to ask for
God's forgiveness, for forgiveness is a
matter of consciously trying to reestablish
unity, & God never has lost that. We

do the forgiving; & when we reach out to
reestablish unity God's part has already been
done. We have done the separating & we
must do the re-uniting. ^{But of the Lord's Prayer:}
"Father forgive them for
they know not what they do".

As I thought before, it is quite
possible that Dick Shoppard & David
Pomeroy dread letting this power of
n.v. get into the hands of plain
people because of its upsetting possibil-
ities domestically. ∴ They retire my
pamphlet. I'll not make this idea
public, however. It sounds a bit egotistic
on my part to those who think the idea of
my book are mine originally. Perhaps
Pomeroy & Dick are not conscious of
this even tho' it is there, & would
resent having to face it or to have it
opposed to others. I shudder.

Don't say possible says that we may expect God to
forgive us to the extent
we deserve.

My book & pamphlet have gone
far enough in England to stir the
conscience of many Br. people and to
deprive them of their sense of moral
superiority over Indians. So ~~they~~
~~have been~~ Br. opposition to a new
w.r. Indian struggle has been
weakened. Aldous Huxley and
others ^{Englishmen} will, I think, continue to
press the idea within England.
The P.P.U. members are too wedded to
their political ways & too scindable
class to change their ways. They
greatly underestimate the price of
peace. Probably that is true of the
entire west. The bond lies in India

Strength of desire is connected
with motor ability or a motor urge,

a desire to satisfy a craving by action. Strength of desire plus (intelligence) clearness of mind, are two big factors in strength of will. \therefore promote motor activity ~~as a part of~~ in order to strengthen the will. K does this and also clarifies thought & tests it by reality and gives it organic connection as to time.

Money & private π in hand are ~~gradually~~ with increasing rapidity reducing the masses to slavery again. The freedom of exchange is not a lasting freedom. ~~Since~~ Since people are no more aware of ^{the effect} these things than they are of the effect of air, or fibres of the water, the reform will be very slow. Only speedy way is to let K & ~~move~~

NVR as a technique to promote
social & individual adaptiveness.

See A. V. Morgan The Song Road
pp 60 etc. & index

Scrip relieves need for big money
savings. Re money see The Song Road
pp 62, 57, 82, 78-82, 99, 115.

See Evelyn Underhill's The Inner
Life affect of postures on inner
attitudes.

The effects of inflation in Germany
& Austria indicates that money
is more important than private
property in land as an exchange

Re power of example:

Chronaxy. "Suppose you apply an electrical stimulus to a nerve. It will have to be a motor nerve, if you are to observe a measurable effect, but nervous matter is of the same kind everywhere, and it is with the physical response of the nerve that we are concerned. It is found that the intensity of the stimulus necessary to produce a response from the nerve varies inversely as the duration of that stimulus.

"That means that the nerve responds, not to energy, but to action - energy \times time." - "The Serial Universe" by J. W. Dunne, Faber & Faber, London, 1934. Re chronaxy see S. Lapicque, Bouquignon & Haldane.

This means that non-identical, varying work, people if they are persistent, can produce a great result as distinct from people who act briefly.

Selective insecurity provides the conditions for a social regression to war. Widespread & prolonged unemployment creates such insecurity & loss of self-respect. Unemployment is due until a better economic system comes. If return to handwork amounts to a regression, it is better to have that form of regression than war.

The stable social system of India can weather the crisis better than that of the West.

The fact that people are very slow to change their habits, are willing to pay or at least to ^{gudging} offer only a ^{gudging} minimum and ~~gudging~~ minimum for peace is in record-

one with the physical law of "least action". How to get over this obstacle? Provide another channel of least action by showing the real state of affairs. —

Quotations from "Peaceful Change: An International Problem", a series of lectures at London School of Economics, spring of 1937, edited by C. G. L. Manning, Macmillan, London 1937. Section on "The Psychological Aspect" by Karl Mannheim.

He says (p. 102) that there are no definitely shaped instincts such as aggressiveness or acquisitiveness.

"Rather, we can only say that there are instinctive tendencies, originally vague, which adapt themselves to varying circumstances, and can be shaped by society." — — —

104. "Indeed there is nothing in the

so-called fighting instinct which makes
inevitably for war. Its existence only
explains why, when the social structure
presents us with certain situations,
our psychic equipment makes us to
fight, or in some circumstances
even forces us to indulge in aggression.
Once the very structure of
a social order is so built as to
avoid war it can, by the control of
education, prevent the forming
of warlike attitudes, or, if these
are already established, it can
105 break them up into their constituent
elements and re-integrate
them or give them new functions.

"One must bear in mind that
anger, hatred and instinctive urges,
as they manifest themselves in

the life of the individual, are by no means identical with warlike attitudes. This is a fact which the 'individual psychologist' is apt to overlook. There is a big gap between simple and spontaneous hatred and what has been called 'trained hatred' [Ruge,] in 'Race Questions, Prominences etc 1908 p 48], and there is a big gap between occasional bursts of anger and the formation of a bellicose character. I would venture to say that it costs a social organisation at least as much energy deliberately to build up warlike attitudes as peaceful ones. Moreover, peaceful attitudes being more in accordance with the ways of life of an industrialised society, it is more un-

natural for us to behave like soldiers
than like citizens." [Is the gap
between ~~anger~~ hatred and warlike
attitude any more than that between
an action and a sentiment plus
adding group features to the latter?
Russett] - - -

"A sociology of war and peace
aiming at completeness should
therefore answer the following two
questions: (a) Have there been any
societies in history which, on the
whole, have made for peaceful
attitudes? (b) For what reasons
and by what mechanism do
peaceful modern societies turn into
bellicose ones?"

"The first question I shall not
discuss in detail. It is sufficient

(106)

to state that nations once hellenore
 have lived for hundred of years
 without war, and this in itself
 is answer enough to those who
 assert that war is the necessary
 consequence of the instinctive
 equipment of man. First of all
 we find among the so-called
 primitive tribes some who do
 without war, or at least show
 only mildly hellenore attitudes.

[Davis, W. R. "The Evolution of War",
 a Study of its Role in Early Societies,
 Newhaven, England, 1929, of Chap IV,
 "Where War Exits & Where it Does Not",
 Chap XV, "The Steps Toward Peace",
 Appendix C; Hobbhouse, E. T., "War",
 J. C., Gindberg, W. "The Material
 Culture and Social Institutions of

"Simpler Peoples", London, 1930, pp.
228 ff]. These attitudes, however,
are less a moral achievement than
the outcome of a narrowing of their
conditions of life. Mostly, as with
the Eskimos, it is the hardness of
the immediate struggle with
nature, and the absence of crowd-
ing, that account for their freedom
from aggressiveness. Generally
it is the food-gatherers and the
agriculturalists who are known to
be peaceful. Furthermore, trade
and commerce very often induce
[is it fine
that - also
for war?] for peace; though it is dangerous
to generalize, for under certain
conditions the same factors
might foster war.

"Of the fact that, in our

modern civilization, peoples can live
 for many hundreds of years without
 war, the Dutch and Sines are
 examples. Although the bellicose
 peoples by far outnumber the
 peaceful ones, their mere existence,
 as I mentioned, is a sufficient
 indication that human nature can
 very well do without war. The
 main problem, therefore, is to
 identify those mechanisms, those
 social processes, which tend to
 turn peaceful attitudes into ag-
 gressivity. [Why not also study how & why
 the peaceful nations became such. E. J. Will
 the struggle as the we unify the Dutch &
 give meaning ^{+ dignity} to the work of each citizen
 so that they did not yearn for the government
 etc of war? Had the auto. give the Sines

both a strong sense of security & a sense of
drama & beauty, so as to ratify their
^{what attempts in such cases?}
self-quest? ~~But~~ What happened
to Norway to make her so long peaceful?
But

"Once peaceful attitudes have
been established in a given society,
the spontaneous growth of warlike
attitudes on mass will prevent
a case of collective regression.
One next problem, therefore, is
what brings about such a social
regression, such a dissolution of
all those smoothly-working ten-
dencies which are needed by a
society based upon work &
opposed to conflict? [Both have
and in his question (b) on p 105
the author is mistaken in assuming

that there are many or indeed any modern nations whose attitudes are not warlike, whose ^{established} attitudes are peaceful. He fails to examine the question of how to build up peaceful attitudes among warlike nations. That is a more important q. than what he discusses here. (R. R. P.)

"I think that one of the main causes of a sudden disintegration of socially established attitudes is, any kind of collective insecurity such as leads to a partial or total dissolution of society. The present crisis especially has been making us realize that collective insecurity has been throughout history the great factor in the rapid dissolution of old attitudes and the creation

2 | of new ones. [Now, this presents
the pacifists with a great oppor-
tunity to get in on the ground
floor with a new faith, for far greater
insecurity is coming.) -----

--- "In the first stage of capital-
ism, the maladjustment between
absolutism and a growing indus-
trialism led to dissatisfaction and to
acute tension between the rising
bourgeoisie, on the one hand,
and the landed aristocracy and
the army on the other. It was
this tension which sought an
outlet in war. In the monop-
olistic stage of capitalism it
seems mainly to be structural
unemployment which leads to
disturbances and even to that

state of partial dissolution of society in which war appears to be the simplest means of diverting attention from internal difficulties.

108. Thus, we must begin by clearly understanding the meaning of this partial dissolution of society and its reaction upon the attitude and mentality of its members.

[Expressing caution as to analogies between animal life and human society he tells of regresses in beehives when queen dies. Workers begin to lay eggs by parthenogenesis, unfertilized. Some regresses still further and become individual robber bees.]

p. 110. "The analogy between the societies of bees and of men holds good in so far as in human society also a

dissolution or partial dissolution of the social order brings about a regression to an earlier stage of behaviour; but this regression is not a biological but a social one. Man, unlike the bee, does not revert at once to earlier biological stages in the history of his instincts. Owing to the plasticity of his nature, he reverts from one historical-social elaboration of his attitudes to an earlier one, still based on the same instinct. A peaceful society, becoming insecure, as a result of a partial dissolution, breaks up the peaceful attitudes so painfully established and tends to replace them by the social remnants of such militancy.

patterns as still exist within it.

111 "Is not such a partial dissolution of the social order the outstanding feature of that social insecurity of which unemployment has become a general assumption? For man, however, the catastrophe lies not merely in the disappearance of external opportunities for work but also in the fact that his elaborate emotional system, intricately connected as it is with the smooth working of social institutions, now loses its object-fixation. The petty aims towards which almost all his strivings are directed suddenly disappear, and, not merely does he now lack a place of work, a

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daily task, and an opportunity to
for using the integrated labours
attitudes formed through long
training, but his habitual desires
and impulses remain ungratified.
Even if the immediate needs of
life are satisfied, by means of
unemployment relief, the whole
life-organization and the family
hopes and expectations are annihil-
ated. One has only to remember
how much libidinous energy
is normally invested, in a capital-
istic society, in social ambitions,
to realize what this means.

"The frustration of the desire to
rise in the social scale means
not only that hopes of raising
the standard of life must be

abandoned, but also that social
 esteem is shattered and, with it,
 self-respect. The symptoms of
 such general insecurity may
 differ in different strata; the
 petty rentier, the black-coated
 worker, the skilled artisan and the
 unskilled labourer, the intelligentia
 and the student - but, despite
 their social differences, shattered
 self-respect is at work in all
 of them. Gaskell has shown
 that, when the former ideal of
 the 'manly self' is once dis-
 turbed and former attitudes are
 left objectless, the old impulses
 turn inward and take the form
 of self-punishment, which
 degenerates into masochism or

psychologically self-mutilating
orgies. In this situation the
scapegoat, such as the Jew,
affords a real relief by providing
an opportunity for once more
externalizing the aggressive ten-
dencies, an opportunity that is
equally welcome to the frustrated
in every class. [cf. Samuels, H.D.,
'World Potitine and Personal Insecu-
rity', 1935, New York & London]

"This is the stage of unorga-
nized insecurity, which is fraught
with incalculable possibilities. It
is the stage of general psycholog-
ical and emotional experimenta-
tion; and of the decay of our
belief in institutions, mores,
traditions, and historically-established

Confusion here
about the
stage here.

linked prestige. These are the
 sociological conditions in which
 ideologies are unmasked and the
 validity of established principles
 and values comes to be doubted.
 This is the moment of scepticism,
 hard for the individual yet pro-
 ductive for science, as it destroys
 the petrified habits of thought
 of the past. In this general
 experimentation, the individual
 who cannot reorganize himself
 may perish, but to the social
 body it means the possibility of
 a selection of new models of
 behaviour and of new representa-
 tive dominant types. That is
 why Fascism and Communism,
 and any other new social fixation,

W.V.R.

seem at certain moments to have equal chances as far as psychology is concerned. And, indeed, Michels observes [Michels, R., 'Socialism and Fascism', Munich, 1925, p 266] that, in the case of Italian Fascism, men who had once been Socialists often joined the Fascists.

"Finally, long-term calculation also ceases, at least among those social groups most strongly affected by the partial dissolution of society. The game reaches its height when the individual comes to realize that his uncertainty is not simply a personal one, but is common to masses of his fellows, and when it

becomes clear to him that there is no longer any social authority to set unquestioned standards and determine his behaviour. Herein lies the difference between individual unemployment and general insanity. If, in normal times, an individual loses his job, he may indeed despair, but his reactions are more or less prescribed and he follows a general pattern in his distress. Even if he rebels against society by stealing, his activities will fall into some mould not created by him.

"The distress of man in a situation of insanity is worse than that of the social animals, such as Hodgson's

'old unhappy hulk'

'Sick in mind and body both

Outcast from the land he led,

Bulls and cows a hundred head ---

because the hulk may still rely on the prompting of instincts that are uncorrupted by membership of a society based on an all-pervading division of labour. Such a society destroys the spontaneity of response and man, if the usual objects of his striving are withdrawn, is lost and without orientation. His socially-moulded instincts are useless when conditions alter, his old emotional strivings are homeless in a situation of unorganized insecurity, and his common sense is too narrow in outlook to under-

stand what is happening around him in this invisible society with its unintelligible structure.

"Here lies another difference between animals and men, for, whereas after the loss of the object the bee falls back on an earlier biological stage of instinctive reaction, man, deprived of his original goal, finds relief in the creation of symbolic goals and symbolic activities. For man is a being living in a community whose reaction is not based simply on instinct but on symbols of his own creation, such as words, images and ideas, which serve as a fundamental means of communication.

Here is where the importance of ideas comes in; also the reform of many aspects.

Better to have K & normal behavior - real activities,
 then substitute symbols. If you are
 substitute symbols. K + will give self symbol
 more self-satisfied than will substitute symbols together.

"Some of these symbols, words
 for instance, stand for things that
 really exist, others are really
 symbols or symbolic activities
 that serve as substitutes for real
 activities. When desired objects
 are withdrawn from our reach,
 when we find it impossible to
 get full and immediate gratif-
 ication in real things, then we
 use these symbols as substitutes.
 Experimental psychology provides
 us with information showing how
 substitute activities function in
 simpler situations. I refer to
 experiments and investigations
 carried out by Sewin [Sewin, K.
 'A Dynamic Theory of Personality', 1935, Ch. VI], Oskar Neuberger
 [cf. also Köhler's Principles of Gestalt Psychology, 1935, pp. 430]

2 Sierver, Hoppe and others. An instructive case is quoted by Sierver [op cit. Ch. VII]. A young feeble-minded child wants to throw a ball a long way, and although he fails, is happy because he finds a substitute in the vigorous movement he has made. Sierver calls this type of child a 'gesture-child', because he is satisfied with gestures when others are striving for concrete goals. [D. = liberalism thus only a set of ^{political} gestures & a variety of feeble-mindedness: K. & G.]

"During a period of unorganized 'insecurity', the normal person, owing to the lack of an immediate and real qualification for his strivings in the field of work and social acknowledgment, tends to become a"

'gesture-adult', existing on substitute goals and being satisfied with gestures and symbols.

"As Lewin realized, the term substitute goal, or substitute activity, has no meaning in itself, but only when measured against the original intention, or original tension-system, of the individual. Since in capitalistic society the normal working incentive is acquisition, a desire to raise the income-level, any goal will be regarded as substitute which compensates for some failure in this field. The symbolic substitute is felt as being unreal only as long as the original tension-system, the driving for money, persists. ----

116. "According to the observations of individual psychology, once the individual tension-system is built up it is not very easy to alter, except in the case of children. But in my view the characteristic feature of any revolutionary period is that failure on the level of original expectations occurs to hundreds of thousands at the same time, the search for substitutes follows the same rhythm, and the meaning of what is real or unreal is established in common. If there are many who think it is better to have guns than butter it will be easier for the single individual to change over from one tension system to another than it

would be if he had to re-organize the system for himself.

"The collective transformation of the system of symbols into new realities occurs in three stages. The symbol may remain unchanged externally while the real dynamic transformation which changes its function and meaning takes place behind this facade. The three stages of this transformation are:

- (a) the symbol is a pure substitute goal;
- (b) The symbol becomes the new driving force for new forms of spontaneous group-integration (this we may call the utopian stage of the symbol);

(c) The symbol becomes the rigid emblem of an organized group.

In the first stage men flee to symbols and cling to them mainly because they want to avoid the anxiety which, according to Freud, overwhelms us whenever the libidinal energy remains for long without an object. Hammer & sickle, vestal, brown and black shirts, red and black flags, outstretched arms, clenched fists, phrases like 'freedom and glory of the nation' - are fictions providing an outlet and goal for displaced energy.

"But as soon as people by these very gestures and substitute goals become integrated into spontaneously growing groups, they reach the utopian

regimen

stage in the development of the symbol. The utopian symbol makes people act; it makes them act against the system of established relationships, and, in acting against it, they not only try to wreck this network of relationships, but make it all in question the former definition of the situation, devaluating the meaning and significance of the original level of aspirations.

"Thus not only does the new symbol gain in significance but its reality-prestige is raised; striving for the honour and glory of the nation seems to be every bit as real a business as striving for economic gain. Another reason

why the new symbol seems to become more than a substitute, and indeed becomes a new social reality, is, that it in its turn likewise generates its own network of inter-related activities. Although these activities may for some time remain sterile and may consist mainly of endless discussions without rhyme or reason, or of loitering in groups and marching about, later they will lead to quasi-military exercises and to the forming of 'pressure-groups' which will from time to time press upon that social system which is still the acknowledged order.

"Paving the utopian phase,
 on the social function of tomes
 [of Mannheim, 15. "Ideology & Utopia" n.y. 1936
 esp. part IV]

118 ⑦ important changes take place in the individuals themselves. Whereas, in the first stage, the symbol was merely an occasional substitute in their lives, it now becomes both a factor in the re-organization of their whole personality and the ferment which leads for them to a new kind of group cohesion. In such a situation it is obvious that radical changes in the individual only take place when some sudden shock has destroyed the network of his established habits and expectations, and that the stabilization of his new hopes and values is intimately linked up with the integration of new groups. Old traditions

fall to bits, new forms of social adjustment occur, and we speak of a re-birth of men and society. It was perhaps this same psychological mechanism which in the ancient world produced the new spirit of Christianity, or which in the seeds of the later Middle Ages gave rise to the modern forms of the utopian spirit.

It is then disorganised security, obviously referring to Nazi Germany.

Maybe Security was too much of a substitute symbol without enough economic reality or distinct mode of life?

I think that we should try not to let the change move from unorganised insecurity to organised insecurity but to organised security at, if need be,

a simpler technological level but a higher moral level. I am willing to make a technological regression in order to win a moral progression. The drop in population may help in this process. Such a drop in population, like the earlier sudden rise, is probably a new event in human history.

A clear idea of new habits and of their implications and integrations into a mode of life helps one to require them because the element of intellectual pattern in the control of conduct (Sinner & Mastery of Mind)

~~Such~~ A change of habits refers to both I.C. and U.V.R.

If society breaks up, U.V.R. will

be the only collection of ideas and motives for group action that will give significance to life, and even barbarians want ~~that~~ such significance and indeed must have it. (cf. Durand's history of mind) Use this idea and the ideas in the above quotation from "Peaceful Change" in a speech at F.O.R. Conf., to give optimism. Remember, the V.R. is necessary for any satisfactory new form of society whether that is to be socialist, communist, democratic, or what not, - any desirable form.

The failure of instances of peaceful ~~change~~ political changes, indicated by T. Ogilvie in his essay in "Peaceful Change", may indicate that the problem is not to be solved chiefly by

political means, but rather by psycho-
logical and economic means. So far
as changes of territorial sovereignty
are concerned, Toynbee finds but
few instances, - Finland became
independent of Russia, with consent of
both sides, after the R revolution. Also
Norway peacefully separated from
Sweden. The formation of the modern
kingdom of Greece. Political
unions as distinguished from separa-
tions were the union of Scotland
~~and Ireland~~ with England.

Holland + Belgium peacefully
united with British Indian Govt.
Sundry peaceful devolutions within
the empire + Russian Soviet Union.
The devolution in the empire has been
more economic, while in Soviet Union

it has been more cultural. ^{These have} ^{of relative polit.} ^{strength}
 been many gradual peaceful changes,
 e.g. in China, in Holland, in Sweden,
 in England.

The fact that ideas control
 action emphasises the importance of
 to worth of getting a clear philosophy
 and a method of action & then acting on
 it. Example is most potent.
 Another reason for my going to India.
 None can see it most clearly in a
 foreign country & where it has gone
 furthest. So can I, & my help can
 be greatest there. ~~The~~ What is done in
 India will count in U.S. too. If
 fascism or war are established in U.S.
 if & when I return, then people maybe
 will be ready to listen to these ideas more

belonging.

Self-respect can be had most
surely from having and manifesting
(living) qualities such as truth, ~~energy~~,
humility, love, ~~u.v.~~, tolerance, etc. No
person, no organization & no circumstan-
ces can deprive one of those attributes
or from all opportunities of displaying
them. All this is very different
from the usual idea of what consti-
tutes means and a worthwhile life

~~By having money simultaneously
a medium of exchange and a store of
value, the means becomes the end,
& a false end, too.~~

T. show how different police are

from armies, & how the element
 of n.v. among police has helped
 make them effective to maintain
 order, the article on Police in
 the Evening Encyclopedia, ¹⁹¹³ under the
 subhead of "police duties", quotes from
 Snowden's ^{book} work on the Police, -- "He
 should be most civil and courteous,
 and endeavour, as far as he can con-
 sistently with his duty, to make
 himself popular with all classes. --
 he should, however, act kindly toward
 such persons (criminals) and endeavour
 by advice and encouragement to
 induce them to abandon crime and live
 honestly." "Again, a vade-mecum
 of the police, Sir Howard Vincent's
Police Code, the late Lord Abinger
 (Sir Henry Hawkins) in an address to

justice constables, says by way of foreword
to the code: --- 'Pray avoid harshness
and oppression; be firm but not brutal,
make only discreet use of your powers.'
And again, 'whatever duty you may
be called on to perform, keep a curb
on your temper. An angry man is
as unfit for duty as a drunken one,
and is incapable of calmly exercising
that discretion which a constable is
so often called on to exercise. Be
civil and listen respectfully to every-
body who addresses you; and if occas-
ionally you are remonstrated with for
the course you are taking, do not
hastily jump to the conclusion, as
some constables do, that the person
who so often remonstrates wishes to
obstruct you in the execution of

your duty.

Last night (Aug 21, 1937) I dreamed
that twice in a city street late at
night men tried to rob me &
assault me with intent to rob me.
^{just before that a woman on the street sang loudly often taken}
I was both frightened and angry
and threatened violent motions at
them and walked rapidly away,
but ineffectually. I woke before the
robberies had actually occurred.
I lay half awake in a state of fear & of
realization that this is what would
often happen if society & public order
breaks down, & that my present
mode of living invites it, & that I
am to blame for any such attempts
or attacks.

~~get the 32~~
~~get the 32~~

✓ Re farming & places, consider the comparative costs of buying vegetables through the late autumn & winter, and the cost of raising them in a greenhouse, - ~~cost~~ interest, expense & obsolescence on construction, plus cost of heating. Include an estimate of value of extra vitamins because of freshness.

✓ Jerusalem artichokes have two advantages over potatoes. They have more sugar in them (dextrose or levulose) & hence are easier to digest, and do not get troubled by potato bugs. Also do not need cultivation.

By money symbol & its manipulation
 the bankers are able to mobilize the
 trust, courage, belief, technological
 knowledge & resources, and ~~the~~ materials,
 so that the community, or private
 organizations or govt actually do
 what they could have done anyway.
 The bankers have received large
 payments for this service. The
 rest of govt debts to them are
 sheer robbery. Since the com-
 munity was not aware of its own
 power & of the meaning of these
 transactions, it is like a minor child.
 Debts of a minor are uncollectible.

A sacrifice is a transfer of energy.

Men learn but very little from history
for the crises of each generation are,
to it, unique or at least new, ~~and~~
~~new~~. But men advance by the
inventions of new tools (including
symbols as intellectual & emotional
tools) and new disciplines. By
these he creates new patterns of
stimuli for himself, external &
internal, and new means which
modify the ends attained, thus
he controls ^{improves} his conduct of his.
This applies to reform of money &
to N.V.R. & to disciplines. N.V.R. is
a tool, too.

Is G.H.'s opposition to voluntary
offering a Bc characteristic? A part
of their prevalent selfishness?

The point on opposite page puts one part of
 Marx's theory in another. I.e. it takes the
 emphasis which Marx placed on inventions of
 tools (as the cause of social change & development)
 & indicates that that (as a means) is more
^{anything else. Hence its importance on} ^{some matters}
 important than having a picture of a goal.
 But the picture is also a tool because it is a concept.

4. V. Kintner can use money simply as a medium
 of exchange, and but its other functions are danger-
 ous for him.

The invention & adoption of a
 new tool is ^{probably} the only way that
 individual advances can be spread
 over a large enough number to
 change people's habits generally.
 If the new tool is a concept or
 method (discipline) (of science) it
 can be used to invent subsidiary
 material tools to do the work for the

crowd.

by machinery & hence
Socialism requires a large scale organization, which for democratic & sound operation calls for high moral attainments among all people. That moral level is lacking, so violence is the only way to make the large organizations & hence Socialism, work. So I don't ~~take~~ advocate Socialism now, nor do I advocate modern ^{big} machinery as the tool to link up with an intangible idea of social values to build a new discipline. Better go "back" to hand instruments

At present the ^{industrial} tool, machinery, is geared in with the other tool money; & together they create the modern industrial discipline.

To get a new social order reform
 money & link it with hard tools.
 Most intangible tools, such as
 concepts, i.e. laws, or symbols
 seem to require a material tool also
 to produce a strong discipline
 among the masses. That's because
 most of us are intellectually-minded.

Private property as a concept is also a
 tool.

✓ Inquiry whether money has not added
 to the power of private π in hand.

All effective disciplines - military,
 scientific, industrial, ^{religious} come from the
 regular & prolonged use of tools - either on
 time. We cannot have a strong set of
 habits without having a tool. There

Challenged by
 the world
 to the
 people
 of the
 world

must be satisfactions or people would
not use the tools. The satisfactions
are either in the process itself,
the fun of it, or in the results
that the tools produce. The regular,
prolonged use of tools creates discip-
lines. Is it not always necessary
to have a ~~to~~ new tool, & usually
a material one, to bring about a
great or rapid change in people's
habits? Of course the destruction
of confidence in or of a concept will
do that, too.

It is very difficult, if not
impossible, for the mass of men (or
the average man) to keep a common
purpose and clear vision, especially
if that is an ideal. But it is

say if their common daily instruments and means have that purpose implicit in them.

By having the symbols representing storage of value made in uniform measurable divisible units, one can then measure value, can say how much value one will give in exchange for something. Thus these two functions of money seem inseparable.

Not only does storage of trust look to the future, but so does trust itself look to both future & present.

But you do not trade a yardstick when you buy a certain length of cloth. But you do not exchange lengths for lengths, but value for value.

You do not need to take thought

(i.e. worry) about the morrow if today you
are serving people to your utmost &
∴ creating a strong fund of trust.

My pamphlet on money may help
people to believe less in this system.
If they believe less, they will not be
so subject to its control or to the
control by bankers & the present
ec. system.

Note that the store of value function
of money involves time, and time is
only one direction, - from present to
future.

Patent arose as trade decreased.
On day of ~~creation~~ ^{creation} you sold a commodity you
give up entire control over it permanently.

ently in exchange for its equivalent value in another commodity. There was no common divisible ^{unit} medium of exchange. Since money came in, when you sell a commodity you give up entire control over it permanently in exchange for its equivalent value in ~~another~~ the common medium of exchange. If I sell the commodity money permanently I have to take something else in exchange for it. But I can rent it for a price, interest.

It is better to say that all men trade in money, sell it for other things. But bankers specialize in selling money. Money ^{is rented} more than any other form of personal property (as distinguished from realty).

Because of the errors of Darwinism, all the violence and breakdown of civilization is itself proof of the necessity of man to follow what he believes is truth. (See J.H.'s "Kind Morality"). That makes it easier to love all men.

Since greed is closely ~~also~~ associated with fear and anger, money, the symbol & stimulant to greed is ~~also~~ closely connected with violence.

If the P.O.U. is Shippard's personal channel for exercise of personal power, he is not going to take suggestions as to policy or training. He himself would not go into training & hence he knows

he cannot ask others to do it. ∴ Do not
 send the letter. Use it in our books only.

The time at P.H. when I got
 the students to discussing who were
 the really greatest men, it aroused
 very great interest, apparently because
 it stimulated their sense of values.

Suey Wing said today a good thing,
 — that we must not try to get off in
 a corner & do what we want, we
 must get into life and get interfered
 with constantly. That is being a
 real part of a community. It applies
 especially to people growing old. She
 applied it to her taking of the children
 — adopting baby. Here is a person
 who is growing old to keep participating in

life and also put his wisdom at service of
younger people?

I have now books on the chaps on Dynamics
in 2 vols "The Guidance of Conduct"
a third on Values etc.

It may be that the latent or
principle of private property (in land)
is deeper & more powerful as a moral
control than is money. But money
is ^{liable} ~~subject~~ to modification with much
less effort than private π , & yet a
reform of money will clarify our
feelings & thinking enough to
advance considerably toward a
sound modification of private π .
The consideration of my money reform
with v.v.r. will do much in this

report. The connection between money
 & violence is partly shown in Dixon's
Gardens of Conduct.

Realization that all men live by
 their vision of truth ^{promotes} ~~creates~~ tolerance.
 Also it answers some of the Fiddell
 Hart doubts re h.v.e., the one
 re Nazis & Fascists

Again promotes fear, greed & anger
 Can men create new & better
 desires & values? Yes. They have.

The ability of money to transfer
 value from place to place comes in
 part as soon as a tangible symbol of
 a store of value is created. But
 the value must be such as is valid in
 both places.

Percy Bartlett urges me strongly
to develop in my next book the
positive, persuasive, constructive, heart-
changing aspect of love & non-

The fact, that the inherent
nature of money and the mathematical
laws of frequency distribution (cf
Hoyden "Truth for the Million" pp 589-90)
will inevitably ^{drive} ~~negate~~ out all small
businesses and create a monopoly means
that ~~we can~~ unless we can
modify money we must, in order to
retain freedom, abandon trade as
much as we can and make our own
clothing & raise our own food.

It may be argued that it is
money, which has debilitated

the principle & operation of all private property

Frontal attack on greed is voluntary simplicity. Flank attack is understanding of money, & if possible a money reform. Y. G. H. Third frontally. K+ is another. Do it for both money & individuals.

Work out frontal & flank attacks on fear & anger. K.V.R., meditation, K, vol simplicity.

Idea re K, re K.V.R. in relation to money, & re private II are in folder on Money

Some of the books which could be cited as footnotes for money article are Max Weber, R.H. Tawney, F. Henderson, Common

Angell, John Strachey, 14. George, Hobhouse,
"Property" by Gore et al., Stuart Chase,
F. Soddy, my engineer,

It seems to me that Aveling's (?)
idea of the ^{in act of} essence of will being an
act of choice, of discrimination, ^{as followed by identification} applies
to those who have already developed
will power; while Suis's idea
of ^{developing} a pattern of stimuli indicate
more truly the way will grows &
comes into being. This latter is
more important from standpoint
of ^{or} training.

In my new book discuss how we
can be developed in case where U.S.
goes fascist, or how it could be
done in a European fascist country.
Thus make it more useful to the
rest of the world outside U.S. & Br.

A. N. Whitehead in his *Intro to Math*
says that symbols are to save us from
thinking. May they not also save us from
making efforts of will, by supplying the
needed pattern of stimuli, à la Swiss?

My idea of tools ^{indicates} Swiss
theory of will. Tools & symbols ^{Swiss} fit
in also with law of least action.

"Yoga" by K. T. Behanan - Macmillan 1937

Since we cannot get all finesses of theory & cannot do certain disciplines, things like K help, as tools, to alter their minds, remove anger, make self-controlled more easy, etc.

Books on the probable decline of population: Dr. Kuczynski, "The Measurement of Population Growth", and "Population Movements"; Eisel Charles' "Twilight of Parenthood"; Prof. C. Saunders' "World Population"; David Glass "Struggle for Population". all published in yr. Br.

L. Haghen says of this "The level of fertility in the more highly industrialized countries has now sunk below the limit at which no concomitant fall in mortality can prevent a con-

immense decline of population, unless people can be induced to have larger families."

Quotation from "Planning for Human Survival" by Simon Hogben, one of the essays in a book called "What is Ahead of us?" by G.D.H. Cole, Satter, Stead, Webb, Marshall, & Hogben, - Macmillan, London, 1937. pp 181-192.

"Among other features of differential fertility, urban congestion claims pre-eminence, if only because it is not an essentially new feature of capitalist society. Some of the large cities of Europe were incapable of reproducing themselves long before a decline in national fertility began.

Indeed the past hundred years has seen the continual growth of the towns at the expense of a higher level of fertility

in the surrounding countryside. That
 high density of population generally goes
 with low fertility is beyond dispute.
 Differences of opinion only arises in the
 explanations offered for it. One view is
 that the relatively high fertility of the
 countryside is due to ignorance of contra-
 ceptive amenities. Before accepting this
 as a sufficient reason, we ought to
 ask why the conditions of life in a city
 favours the spread of contraceptive knowl-
 edge. In so far as urbanism favours
 low fertility, some conspicuous features
 of city life may be grouped under three
 headings: positive obstacles to parent-
 hood inherent in the conditions of
 urban congestion, alternative attrac-
 tions which compete with the satisfac-
 tion of the claims of parenthood

as a source of enjoyment, and the impact of a new pattern of social relations on the stability of the family group.

"The recognition of some of the positive obstacles presents no difficulties to parents themselves. It is only necessary to mention them because so few people are parents. Every mother of four knows that a garden surrounded by a wall is worth all the labour-saving devices yet invented. You may provide crèches, school feeding, family allowances, holidays with pay for expectant mothers, and a thousand and one other inducements. If you do not give people space you will not make parenthood desirable. As a parent, I have no doubt whatever in asserting that five children in a house surrounded by its own garden

in a locality where there is little traffic
are far less trouble than one child in
a Gordon flat. It is my deliberate
opinion that flat life is incompatible
with fertility, and if Socialists cannot
think of anything better than the
Workers' Flats in Vienna, we should
be thankful that Balfour destroyed
them before they had built sterility
into the structure of a Socialist
Society.

"A second feature of urban life
is sometimes dismissed too lightly
because bishops are apt to make tire-
some remarks about it. The drift of
the population from country to town
involves a continual displacement of
active enjoyment by passive forms of
satisfaction; for people who find their

amusement in cultivating roses, growing their own salads, keeping bees or breeding rabbits in their own gardens, playing the piano, making their own clothes and household amenities, the use of leisure does not conflict with the demands of the home as the centre of family life. These pursuits are either impossible under urban conditions or disappear in competition with the passive distractions which city life offers. The cinema, which could be the greatest instrument yet devised for democratizing knowledge, if every mathematical classroom were fitted with a projector, is mainly used to compensate the unbearable tedium of life in a model flat. Crowds assemble to watch games which are

only played by experts or gentlemen.
Having abandoned the family pew
and the choir practice, we turn on
the radio and listen to crooners.

Side by side with the commercialization of passive enjoyment children and parents compete with one another in maintaining a pattern of conspicuous expenditure. This being so, it is not surprising that no system of family allowances yet devised has encouraged people to have more children. The chief use of income in modern life is to purchase substitutes for whatever satisfaction parent hood brings.

The pattern of passive satisfaction and conspicuous expenditure encouraged by an increasing multiplicity of

unless commodities and new distractions
is only one side of the psychological
problem presented by urban concentra-
tion. In rural surroundings where
children grow up in contact with the
recurrence of parenthood in animals
and plants the processes by which life
renews itself are accepted as natural
events. In the city reproduction is an
unwarranted intrusion of hospital prac-
tice on the orderly routine of a mech-
anized existence. The machine, which
neither grows nor decays, sets the
fashion of human relationships. In
the large community the family ceases
to function as a focus for social rela-
tions, as the individual is free to
choose associates more and more
exclusively from persons of the same

occupational and age groups.

"One feature of the large community of conspicuous expenditure is of special interest in connection with the social class with the lowest fertility. This is the culture value which is increasingly attached to foreign travel. Perhaps no characteristic of modern life is more devastating to the stability of the family group. ----- [Partly true of all ^{touring} travel in motor cars. Norway]

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"What significance we attach to the employment of women under urban conditions outside the home raises the most difficult issues which a rational population policy will have to face, and they may be left for discussion at a subsequent stage. Here it is sufficient to state that

Q the social accompaniments of low fertility suggested by existing differences connected with locality and occupation are not necessarily restricted to a capitalist economy. To some extent, perhaps very largely, they are characteristic of industrialism rather than of capitalism as such. The laudable project of relieving us from the dictatorship of the banks or the parasitism of the rentier of itself offers no guarantee that they will disappear.

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"Indeed, the study of population compels us to make a distinction between two radically different types of Socialist planning. One may be called planning for survival, the other planning for purchasing power. These alternatives have nothing to do

with any scheme which separates
Socialists on matters of political strategy.
Whatever views Socialists may
hold on matters of party allegiance,
most of them are now mainly
concerned with the same main
objective. They aim at keeping
productive efficiency at a maximum
by expanding the volume of effective
demand through social control of
production and remuneration. In
other words, they are less concern-
ed with asking whether capitalist
industrialism produces the things
men need most than with demand-
ing that everyone should have
access to the goods it is capable
of producing.

"Because of the rising popularity

of Marxist doctrines, to which I shall
 allude later, it is important to emphasize
 that the distribution of purchasing power
 to increase the volume of effective
 demand is essentially different from
 the view held by the pioneers of
 Socialism fifty or a hundred years
 ago. It would have been regarded
 by them as a capitulation to the
 prevailing doctrine of laissez-faire,
 against which they revolted. Men
 like Owen and Fourier were far less
 taken in by the glamour of capitalism
 than we are. They were not content to
 criticize it because it distributed
 its products unjustly or because it
 was incapable of producing as large
 a quantity of goods as a planned
 economy could deliver. They also,

and more especially, attached it because it was not producing the kind of goods which are good for people to want and to strive for. They were not hypnotized by the liberal delusion that things people have been educated to demand by capitalist advertisement are necessarily the things they need most.

"Today we are apt to dismiss their lament on the ugliness which capitalist enterprise has bequeathed us as mere aestheticism with no significance for a realistic political programme. What is called realism implies a remote acceptance of the three cardinal errors of early capitalist ideology. The first is the assumption that the greatest

good of the greatest number is achieved
 by producing the greatest number of
 saleable goods and ensuring that the
 greatest number of people can take
 their choice. The second is that
 the large community is a necessary
 condition of high productive capacity.
 The third is that peace between na-
 tions can only be ensured by
 maximum division of labor
 with free trade. I believe that each
 of these postulates is sociologically
 false, and that the results of acting
 as if they were true will be bio-
 logically disastrous. If Socialism
 accepts the distribution of purchasing
 power as its primary and sole con-
 cern its means will merely exagger-
 ate the tendencies which have made

capitalism a biological failure. Meanwhile it will not disarm criticism by capitulating to liberal ideals. On the contrary, its pre-occupation with an extremely mechanical conception of scientific planning will make it easier for the false biological doctrines of Fascism to canalize discontents which are more deep-seated than many of us realize, and more widespread than presently alone.

Neither of these results need occur if Socialists are prepared to ~~take~~ undertake a more radical critique of the social values which capitalism has imposed on us. The liberal ideology which has replaced the penetrating insight of the pioneers of

English Socialism was adapted to the characteristics of capitalist development in an age when the chief source of power was coal, the sole instrument of chemical manufacture was heat, the basic constituents of metallurgical,

The philosophers & churchmen of the middle ages were good metaphysicians, yet money slipped in and spoiled their work. This shows the power of a tool to warp & corrupt a ^{fine} philosophy. RBSq

Operations were iron and copper, the only method of quick transit was the train, and the principal capital asset of agriculture was the land itself. We are now on the threshold of an age of hydro-

electric power, of electrolytic chemical processes, of light metals which exist in abundance everywhere. Cellulose is beginning to displace coal as a source of synthetic operations. Fertilizers, tank-culture, and applied genetics have made land the least important part of capital equipment in food production. Civil aviation, the light car, television, and broadcasting provide an escape from the disadvantages of cultural isolation contingent on small community life. Urban congestion is unnecessary. A much higher potential of self-sufficiency exists, and the advent of a light metal economy will remove one of the principal sources of national rivalries. In these circumstances the Labour Party can think

② of nothing better than perpetuating the
 effete technology of coal by nationalizing
 the mines, tinkering with London's
 transport facilities, pulling up flats in
 flowerless streets for two child families,
 and bleating about the nationaliza-
 tion of the land without advancing a
 single constructive proposal for col-
 lectivizing the nation's food supply
 on a scientific basis.

"----- Even the much-despised aesthet-
 icism of the Utopians is being vindicated
 by events. In his own time Morris
 contended that the drabness of capital-
 ism is its chief condemnation. Hitler
 has now shown that people will go
 without beauty if you give them circuses.
 Morris was a sound social psychologist
 in recognizing that a Socialist programme

cannot afford to neglect the fact that people want their lives to be picturesque. He was a sound biologist in believing that we could make Britain so beautiful that people would neither need nor wish to travel. If we are to plan for survival our first aim must be to create a social environment in which the setting of the family is satisfying because it is also picturesque. It may be that the mere survival of Socialism - a movement will demand the same reorientation of social values. The British countries have already shown that national survival is a slogan which will drive the people to the polls. If we neglect the significance of this fact Socialism may make way for the circus man with the shot

monstrous and the long whips

"So far I have emphasized one aspect of the social background of sterility. I have suggested that if Socialism accepts the large-community of conspicuous expenditure, the advent of a Socialist economy will serve only to make the decline of population more certain, more swift, and more irrevocable. On the other hand, there is no reason why Socialism should identify scientific planning with an exclusively mechanical technology, and the urban pattern which moulded the social mores of capitalism when mechanical technology was based on coal as a source of power, of chemical manufacture and of chemical synthesis. While the urban-rural fertility differential directs attention to many features of town

life which are inimical to parenthood,
it does not supply all the information
we need for a survival policy. To
arrest the decline of a population at
any appropriate level it may be
necessary to apply simultaneously a
very large number of expedients
each of which of itself would have
very little influence.

"The employment of women has
already been mentioned as a feature
associated with fertility below the
survival minimum. I have expressed
the opinion that family allowances on
a scale compatible with capitalist
distribution applied within the
framework of capitalist production
are not likely to guarantee survival.
This does not mean that family ex-

down to be dropped ~~off~~ out of the pro-
 gramme of a Socialist economy. When
 civilized countries recognize the menace of
 racial extinction, women may well be
 able to dictate their own terms. So
 I do not think it is probable for a male
 to speculate upon what their terms
 will be. From the masculine standpoint
 one consideration is obvious. It is a mon-
 strous injustice to expect men to under-
 take the sole financial responsibility of
 parenthood and agree to equal pay for
 equal work. "

These ideas apply to K and to the female

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